

The organization of educational planning in Nigeria

A.C.R. Wheeler

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Anthony Charles
A.C.R. Wheeler



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IIEP African studies

In 1965, the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) embarked on a series of African case studies designed to shed light upon several major problems confronting educational planners in developing countries. These problems included the integration of educational and economic planning, the costing and financing of educational development, the supply of and demand for teachers, the effect of rapid expansion on the quality of education, the planning of adult education, the bearing of educational planning upon external aid, and the administrative aspects of planning, including implementation.

The task was undertaken in three stages. The first involved the collection and analysis of documentation on three English-speaking countries, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda, and two French-speaking countries, Ivory Coast and Senegal, where the studies were to be undertaken, followed by the drafting and critical review of provisional reports. The second stage consisted of field investigations by staff members and expert consultants, lasting one to three months in each case. In several instances reports were prepared by experts on the scene in accordance with outlines jointly designed and agreed to. The last stage involved the drafting, criticism, revision and final editing of the reports for publication.

Two senior staff members of the IIEP directed the studies in the English-speaking and French-speaking countries respectively, from initial design to final editing. Altogether, eighteen field studies were carried out with the help of officials and advisers of the countries concerned. To the extent possible, the same problem was examined on a similar basis in different countries so that it could later be subjected to comparative analysis. Although the IIEP intends later to synthesize certain of the studies in book form, it considers that most of the full original reports should be made available promptly in monograph form for training, operational and research purposes. It should be emphasized, however, that the intent of these reports is not to give advice to the countries studied but rather to extract from their experiences lessons which might prove useful to others and possibly to themselves.

While gratitude is expressed to the governments, organizations and many individuals whose co-operation made these studies possible, and to the Ford Foundation and the French Government for their help in financing them, it is emphasized that responsibility for the facts, analyses and interpretations presented rests with the authors. In making the decision to publish these studies, neither Unesco nor the IIEP necessarily endorses the views expressed in them, but they feel that their content is worthy of open and free discussion.

Foreword

Educational planning is sometimes talked about as if it were a separate package which can be tacked on to an existing educational system and magically make it work better. The fact is, of course, that educational planning, if it is to amount to anything, must be an integral part of the whole process of educational administration, tied intimately to all decision-making and implementation.

This has always been the case. Those responsible for administering education, whether for an individual school or university or for a whole system, have always had to anticipate at least one year ahead the number of students to be accommodated, the number of teachers, seats and books required, the cost of all this, and where the money would come from.

The essential difference now is that everything has speeded up enormously. Far-reaching changes in the environment of virtually every educational system, including an explosive growth in the popular demand for education, have required these systems to grow and change at an unprecedented rate.

Under conditions of rapid growth and change, an educational system can encounter serious imbalances, both internally and in relation to society and the economy. To avoid such imbalances and the consequent waste of resources, educational managers now require a much more extensive and complicated kind of educational planning than used to suffice. This new type of planning must be more comprehensive, in order to embrace and co-ordinate all main components of the system; it must be effectively linked with the requirements for economic growth and social development, and with the resource supplies of the economy; it must look much farther ahead, to allow for the long 'production cycle' of education; and it must be as much concerned with educational change and quality as with mere quantitative expansion.

To cope with these new necessities calls not only for a new kind of educational planning but, even more, for a new kind of educational management. An old and obsolete administrative system cannot successfully accommodate modern educa-

tional planning. Still, old systems of educational administration, of the supervisory and caretaker sort, cannot quickly be transformed into the more positive system of management which is required for rapid and well-planned educational development, integrated with over-all national development.

This problem of administrative transition lies at the heart of the difficulties which newly developing countries have encountered in trying to establish modern educational planning. To learn more about these difficulties, and how they can best be overcome, the IIEP sent one of its staff members, Anthony Wheeler, to study the early experiences of the various regions and the federal capital of Nigeria. He conducted his field work, in close co-operation with Nigerian educational officials, during several weeks in 1965. Subsequently, he examined many other relevant materials and studies, both on Nigeria and on problems of development administration. The findings reported here pre-date the more recent political changes within Nigeria.

The Institute's hope is that this examination of the Nigerian experience, with regard to the administrative aspects of educational planning, will be helpful to other developing countries as well. Their specific circumstances—like those of the regions of Nigeria itself—will of course differ greatly. Yet most are likely to find in common with Nigeria a series of fundamental problems of educational planning and administration which are inescapable when a country moves into independence and into a fresh era of development.

At the successive stages of this study the author received generous help from many Nigerian authorities and educational experts. In particular, the author and the Institute acknowledge their special gratitude to the following: Chief Stephen Awokoya, former adviser to Nigeria's federal Ministry of Education; Mallam Shehu Bakari, chief inspector of primary education, Kaduna, Northern Region, Nigeria; Mr. C. Ebert, chief inspector of secondary education, Benin, Mid-West Region, Nigeria; Dr. A. Musone, former Unesco adviser on statistics to Nigeria's federal Ministry of Education; Professor Andrew Taylor, former director of the Institute of Education at the University of Ibadan; and Mr. J. Thornley, a senior inspector with special responsibilities for primary education in Nigeria.

In addition, Chief Awokoya, Dr. A. Callaway, a research associate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Centre for International Studies, and Mr. R. Lyons, a senior staff member of the IIEP, spared valuable time to read and criticize various drafts, and many of their suggestions have been incorporated into the study.

PHILIP H. COOMBS
Director, IIEP

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Introduction

This study examines the organization of educational planning in Nigeria immediately before the events early in 1966 which produced substantial political changes. Thus it focuses in particular on the first three years of the 1962-68 National Development Plan. Earlier efforts at educational planning in Nigeria receive relatively little attention. The reasons for this restriction on the scope of the study require some explanation here, although they are referred to at appropriate points later in the study. In a rapidly developing and changing country such as Nigeria it is difficult to investigate closely the recent historical period, since with the frequent changes of personnel, those most involved in a particular undertaking are no longer easily accessible. In addition, written documents of events whose political repercussions are not yet exhausted are often unavailable. Thus we do not treat extensively the establishment of universal primary education in Western and Eastern Nigeria. Nor for that matter do we provide a thorough account of the preparation of the 1962-68 National Development Plan, from the viewpoint of an exercise in organization, decision-making, and administrative procedures.¹ Thus the primary focus of this study is on the implementation of the educational programmes of the first National Development Plan, up to and including 1965.

It needs to be stressed at the outset that this study is concerned primarily not with the progress of education in Nigeria, but with the progress in developing machineries and procedures for *planning* Nigeria's educational development. Of course an examination of the progress of education is one aspect of the evaluation of progress in planning, from the point of view of the results achieved, but it must be emphasized that we undertake this only as an aid to arriving at conclusions about the progress in *planning* educational development.

1. See W.F. Stolper, *Planning without Facts*, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, and O. Abovade, *Foundations of an African Economy*, New York, 1966, which throw more light on these issues.

The educational systems of the southern regions of Nigeria were in 1965 considerably more advanced than that of Northern Nigeria, but for our purposes this is less of interest than their relative progress in *planning* such development of education as has taken place. Possibly this places the North at an advantage in any recent comparison of progress among the regions, because the southern regions went through their period of rapid educational expansion earlier, during the decade immediately before, and had subsequently settled down to a slower pace of quantitative development, dictated partly by the need to consolidate earlier expansionary efforts, and partly by the growing burden of recurrent expenditure, which created a budgetary limitation on further expansion. Thus the most recent history of education in the southern regions might be characterized as the spreading of qualitative improvements, e.g., upgrading of teachers' qualifications. By contrast, the greatest expansion of the Northern Region educational system has taken place (from small beginnings) only during the recent period with which, as is pointed out above, this study is most concerned.

Hence while it is easy to see a close connexion between the expansion of education in the North and the effort made to *plan* this expansion, it is less easy to discover comparable evidence of planned educational development in the other regions during the same period. The truest comparison of the effectiveness of planning as an agent of educational development in Nigeria might be, say, between the North of the early 1960s and the East and West of the mid- and late 1950s, but, as explained above, it was not felt possible to do this. (This of course refers primarily to a comparison of the quantitative expansion of educational systems, since the application of techniques of planning to their qualitative improvement remains by comparison a less-developed subject.) We therefore feel the need to indicate the possibility of a certain built-in emphasis in the conclusions of this study, which tends to concentrate more on experience in the North, simply because recent progress there is much easier to observe, and also because the 'current state of the art' in educational planning lends itself more easily to analysis of this type of situation.

The criteria which have been used to evaluate the development of educational planning in Nigeria are as follows:

1. The regular collection of relevant data for planning.
2. The training and permanency of planning personnel.
3. The phasing and costing of educational proposals within the context of all other government activities so that the government agencies concerned, such as the planning unit and the ministry of finance, can see them as such and provide for their implementation.
4. The development of procedures and personnel for the implementation of plans and review of their progress.

Obviously it could not be expected that a country at Nigeria's level of development could fulfil all these criteria entirely satisfactorily—perhaps no country in the world could—but the interest of the inquiry is in discovering the extent of progress, the obstacles faced, and the solutions found to overcome them.

1 The progress of education in Nigeria

The progress of education in Nigeria during the years 1957-65 is briefly summarized in the four tables below; these cover primary and secondary schools, but not higher education, which was the responsibility of premiers in the regions, and of the Prime Minister in Lagos. Tables 2 and 4 are especially instructive, because they show the extent to which the schools were managed by different types of authority in the four regions, a matter of great relevance to the implementation of educational planning. The regions are discussed in turn.

The *North* is the region with the largest population, though its density is low, as is the enrolment ratio in primary education over large areas. According to a 1965 estimate,¹ this ratio for the 6 to 12 age group was below 10 per cent in five large provinces. Even so, the situation had greatly improved after 1957, since the number of pupils had more than doubled, enrolments of girls having risen faster than those of boys, and the teaching force had also doubled. The number of primary schools, however, rose by only 35 per cent, reflecting a large increase in the average size of schools and a slight increase in the average size of classes. This suggests that better opportunities existed for improving the quality of education, since inspection was made easier, and teachers when grouped together are in a better position to learn from their more experienced colleagues. It may be added that the qualifications of the teaching force also improved during this period, though this is not shown in the tables.

Another problem not revealed by the tables, yet common to all the regions, was the high rate of drop-out in primary education. Thus, in 1965, there were in the North almost 100,000 children in class 1, but less than 40,000 in class 7. Certainly part of this difference could be accounted for by the fact that an expansion

(continued on page 20)

1. Ministry of Education of Northern Nigeria, *Classes, Enrolments and Teachers in the Primary Schools of Northern Nigeria*, 1965, p. 20, fig. 4.

TABLE 1. Primary education: number of schools, and number of teachers and pupils by sex

Region	Year	Number of schools	Teachers		Pupils		Average of pupils per school		per teacher
			Male	Female	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
North	1957	2 009	6 635	1 227	7 862	154 496	51 273	205 769	102
	1960	2 600	8 528	1 526	10 054	206 443	76 405	282 848	109
	1963	2 625	11 059	2 010	13 069	295 644	115 062	410 706	156
	1965	2 743	13 063	2 249	15 312	349 390	143 120	492 510	180
East	1957	6 986	33 266	7 585	40 851	792 096	417 071	1 209 167	173
	1960	6 451	35 382	9 096	44 478	896 334	534 180	1 430 514	222
	1963	6 028	32 378	6 576	38 954	777 056	501 650	1 278 706	212
	1965	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
West ¹	1957 A	6 628	28 108	6 743	34 851	619 577	363 178	982 755	148
	B	4 610	...	...	23 741	414 223	244 497	658 720	143
	1960 A	6 540	32 237	7 878	40 115	687 215	437 573	1 124 788	172
	B	4 544	...	...	26 875	459 086	283 790	742 876	163
	1963 A	6 311	30 471	8 385	38 856	643 826	455 592	1 099 418	174
	B	4 417	...	...	26 500	433 075	296 472	729 547	165
	1965 A	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	B	4 364	...	...	23 480	438 184	298 964	737 148	169
Lagos	1957	96	710	936	1 646	27 432	22 750	50 182	523
	1960	112	1 020	1 140	2 160	39 479	34 989	74 468	665
	1963	126	1 715	1 582	3 297	55 118	52 434	107 552	854
	1965	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

SOURCES

1. The A data for the Western Region refer to the territory as it was before the formation of the Mid-West Region in 1963. The B data refer to the Western Region excluding the area which formed the Mid-West Region. Thus although separate data for the Mid-West have not yet become available, examination of these two sets of figures permits an interpretation of the educational history of the area which subsequently became the Mid-West Region

1. The 1957 data are taken from *Annual Digest of Education 1961* (Federal Ministry of Education), except for 'West 1957 B'.

2. The 1960 and 1963 data are taken from *Statistics of Education in Nigeria 1963* (Federal Ministry of Education), except for 'West 1960 B' and 'West 1963 B'.

...Data not available

3. The 1965 data for the Northern Region are taken from *Classes, Enrolments and Teachers in the Primary Schools of Northern Nigeria, 1965* (Ministry of Education, Northern Nigeria)

4. The B data are taken from *Some Trends in Education in the Western Region of Nigeria 1955-65* (International Labour Office Mission, Ibadan, October 1965)

TABLE 2. Primary education: number of schools and pupils by controlling authority

Authority	Year	Northern Region		Eastern Region		Western Region ¹		Lagos	
		Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Government schools	1957	3	351	11	3 046	8	2 122	1	577
	1960	7	849	11	3 042	7	1 753	1	726
	1963	...	...	12	2 888	8	1 969	1	1 263
Local authority schools	1957	850	71 178	1 511	86 298	1 844	182 357	...	...
	1960	864	89 551	1 597	202 321	1 807	236 759	3	1 347
	1963	1 314	174 925	1 515	224 987	1 724	235 854	5	5 590
Aided schools	1957	787	114 768	5 381	1 115 378	4 776	798 276	73	44 227
	1960	1 256	148 257	4 728	1 218 078	4 726	886 276	95	68 545
	1963	1 051	213 476	4 464	1 046 994	4 579	861 595	104	96 785
Non-aided schools	1957	369	19 472	83	4 445	...	...	22	5 378
	1960	473	44 191	115	7 073	...	...	13	3 850
	1963	260	22 305	57	3 837	...	...	16	3 914

SOURCES

1. Data for the Western Region include the area which formed the Mid-West Region in 1963
 ...Data not available

1. The 1957 data are taken from *Annual Digest of Education Statistics 1961* (Federal Ministry of Education)

2. The 1960 and 1963 data are taken from *Statistics of Education in Nigeria 1963* (Federal Ministry of Education)

TABLE 3. Secondary education: number of schools, and number of teachers and pupils by sex

Year	Number of schools	Teachers			Pupils			Average of pupils	
		Male	Female	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	per school	per teacher
NORTHERN REGION									
General education									
1957	27	272	46	318	3 306	345	3 651	135	11.5
1960	41	297	108	405	5 795	539	6 334	153	16
1963	56	470	140	610	8 469	1 412	9 881	176	16
1965	72	609	216	825	11 750	2 419	14 169	197	17
Technical and vocational education									
1957	8	77	1	78	872	—	872	109	11
1960	14	178	2	180	2 012	—	2 012	144	11
1963	16	219	7	226	2 658	—	2 658	166	12
1965	16	224	12	236	2 884	—	2 884	180	12
Teacher training									
1957	46	164	71	235	2 183	363	2 546	55	10.8
1960	51	260	91	351	3 469	643	4 112	81	12
1963	54	351	141	492	6 290	1 483	7 773	144	16
1965	55	475	195	670	8 801	2 207	11 008	200	16
EASTERN REGION									
General education									
1957	83	915	106	1 021	13 200	1 632	14 832	179	14.5
1960	113	1 147	128	1 275	19 509	2 628	22 137	196	17
1963	231	1 944	445	2 389	31 862	8 076	39 938	173	17
Technical and vocational education									
1957	5	39	—	39	492	18	510	102	13.1
1960	9	55	1	56	863	13	876	97	16
1963	7	68	3	71	1 643	45	1 688	241	24
Teacher training									
1957	152	565	173	738	7 252	2 161	9 413	62	12.8
1960	159	505	160	665	9 122	2 891	12 013	76	18
1963	115	530	183	713	7 742	2 943	10 685	93	15
WESTERN REGION ¹									
General education									
1957	362	1 574	382	1 956	37 565 ²	9 245 ²	46 810 ²	129 ²	23.9 ²
1960	700	3 944	829	4 473	78 384	22 865	101 249	145	21
1963	911	5 914	1 357	7 271	104 411	46 277	150 688	165	21
Technical and vocational education									
1957	2	30	3	33	200	20	220	110	6.7
1960	4	36	—	36	137	57	194	49	5
1963	6	54	1	55	695	80	775	129	14
Teacher training									
1957	99	547	191	738	7 963	2 508	10 471	106	14.2
1960	101	585	194	779	8 482	2 825	11 307	112	15
1963	92	613	162	775	9 922	3 063	12 985	141	17
[See notes overleaf]									

[See notes overleaf]

The organization of educational planning in Nigeria

TABLE 3 (continued)

Year	Number of schools	Teachers			Pupils			Average of pupils	
		Male	Female	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	per school	per teacher
LAGOS									
General education									
1957	17	205	87	292	2 949	1 138	4 087	240	14.0
1960	29	161	121	282	3 208	2 506	5 714	197	20
1963	47	435	200	635	7 065	4 307	11 372	242	18
Technical and vocational education									
1957	2	52	—	52	1 418	—	1 418	709	27.3
1960	2	78	1	79	1 927	28	1 955	978	25
1963	2	85	5	90	2 161	73	2 234	1 117	25
Teacher training									
1957	1	6	2	8	94	35	129	129	16.1
1960	4	30	4	34	391	85	476	119	14
1963	5	54	18	72	632	264	896	179	12

NOTES

1. Data for the Western Region include the area which formed the Mid-West Region in 1963
2. For strict comparability with the other data, these figures should be slightly increased, as they do not include post-certificate pupils

SOURCES

The same as for Table 2, except for the 1965 figures for the Northern Region which are from *Classes, Enrolments and Teachers in the Schools of Northern Nigeria, 1965* (Ministry of Education, Kaduna)

TABLE 4. Secondary education: number of schools and pupils by controlling authority

Year	Northern Region		Eastern Region		Western Region ¹		Lagos	
	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of pupils
GENERAL EDUCATION								
<i>Government schools</i>								
1957	4	675	4	711	4	952 ²	2	467
1960	4	787	4	843	4	995	2	568
1963	5	1 315	5	1 566	5	1 324	3	1 149
<i>Local authority schools</i>								
1957	15	1 624	3	141	98	15 758 ²	—	—
1960	15	2 581	7	779	153	24 643	—	—
1963	19	3 966	12	1 818	168	30 482	—	—
<i>Aided schools</i>								
1957	8	1 352	47	10 329	260	30 100 ²	12	2 239
1960	22	2 896	61	14 003	121	18 074	24	3 780
1963	27	4 306	99	23 970	113	25 048	29	5 370

TABLE 4 (continued)

Year	Northern Region		Eastern Region		Western Region ¹		Lagos	
	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of schools	Number of pupils
GENERAL EDUCATION (cont.)								
<i>Non-aided schools</i>								
1957	—	—	29	3 651	—	—	3	1 381
1960	—	—	41	6 512	422	57 537	3	1 366
1963	5	294	115	12 584	620	93 834	15	4 853
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION								
<i>Government schools</i>								
1957	5	709	3	343	2	220	2	1 418
1960	14	2 012	3	394	4	194	2	1 955
1963	16	2 658	2	1 054	6	775	2	2 234
<i>Local authority schools</i>								
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Aided schools</i>								
1957	—	—	2	167	—	—	—	—
1960	—	—	1	118	—	—	—	—
1963	—	—	1	140	—	—	—	—
<i>Non-aided schools</i>								
1957	3	163	—	—	—	—	—	—
1960	—	—	5	364	—	—	—	—
1963	—	—	4	494	—	—	—	—
TEACHER TRAINING								
<i>Government schools</i>								
1957	20	1 272	5	629	6	534	1	129
1960	22	1 802	6	480	5	525	1	172
1963	25	4 011	5	689	5	654	2	455
<i>Local authority schools</i>								
1957	—	—	10	770	29	3 492	—	—
1960	—	—	12	1 030	28	3 827	—	—
1963	—	—	11	1 012	28	4 186	—	—
<i>Aided schools</i>								
1957	26	1 274	122	7 494	64	6 445	—	—
1960	29	2 310	127	10 002	68	6 955	3	304
1963	28	3 617	99	8 984	58	8 145	3	441
<i>Non-aided schools</i>								
1957	—	—	15	520	—	—	—	—
1960	—	—	14	501	—	—	—	—
1963	1	145	—	—	—	—	—	—

NOTES

1. Data for the Western Region include the area which formed the Mid-West Region in 1963
2. Post-school certificate pupils in general education in the Western Region were excluded in 1957

SOURCES

As for Table 2

in enrolments affects the lower classes first, but there remains a significant proportion which indicates drop-out.

The pattern of management of primary education in the North differed from that in other regions in that the native authorities controlled the largest number of schools, with the voluntary agencies coming second, whereas in the other regions the reverse was the case. Furthermore, the number of native authority schools in the North increased, while that of voluntary agency schools remained stationary in the last two years after having decreased previously. This reflects the more restricted influence of voluntary agencies in the North and, conversely, the greater recent influence of government during the period of expansion following the Ashby Commission's report.

The development of secondary education in the North was much more rapid than that of primary education during the period 1957-65. There was a *fourfold* increase in the number of pupils and a *threefold* increase in teachers. General secondary schools tripled in number and technical schools doubled, with both types of school substantially increasing their average size. In teacher training, the number of institutions increased by only 20 per cent, but the average size quadrupled to reach 200 pupils.

By 1965 the North had a much more diversified system of secondary education than the other regions; although the number of general secondary schools was relatively small, that of technical and vocational schools was larger in both relative and absolute terms. Teacher training was also expanding at a much faster rate than in the other regions, though from a much lower level. On the other hand, the figures do not show the fact that the other regions were more successful than the North in raising the output from the higher levels of teacher training.

Thus, the main features which distinguished the North from the other regions during the 1957-65 period were the rapid growth in all sectors of education from a late start, the relatively greater emphasis on technical and vocational education at the secondary level, and the more apparent influence in educational matters of the government and the native authorities as compared with the voluntary agencies.

The *East* and the *West* can be considered together because of their very similar educational systems. Both had very large primary enrolments by African standards, owing to the introduction of universal free primary education in the mid-1950s (subsequently partly replaced by fee-paying in the East). But after the introduction of free primary education in the East in 1957, the number of primary schools steadily decreased, particularly among aided voluntary agency schools, and this suggests that the government, by virtue of its grants-in-aid, was able to encourage mergers among schools. Also, the number of teachers showed a tendency to decrease in more recent years, though their average qualifications were improving, which suggests a steady qualitative improvement in primary education in the East

following the expansion generated by the introduction of universal free primary education. Less easy to explain is the fall in total enrolments after 1960, though this is no doubt partly accounted for by the reimposition of fees from class 3 in 1958 and the reduction in the length of schooling from eight years to seven years in 1960 and to six years in 1962.

In the West, universal free primary education was introduced in 1965 and has been maintained since. In this case, also, enrolments and the numbers of teachers and schools showed a tendency to decrease after 1960. A recent publication¹ ascribes this as well as the increasing drop-outs to the lack of employment opportunities for school leavers, poor standards of teaching, and the lack of finance among parents. More children remained as part of the labour force on family farms. However, in the areas closest to Lagos, which offered the most varied employment opportunities, enrolments continued to increase.

Secondary modern schools were established to enable primary school leavers to continue their education with a view to enhancing their employment possibilities. The results were disappointing, mainly because the schools were inadequately equipped and staffed to do their job. Enrolments have greatly decreased in more recent years, and an effort is being made to replace several of these secondary modern schools by 'comprehensive' high schools.

Both the East and the West had very few facilities for technical and vocational education, but devoted considerable efforts to the training of teachers for the large system of primary education. Also they were rapidly expanding their secondary grammar systems.

Thus quantitatively the main characteristics of the educational systems of the East and West were a large primary level topped by a relatively small secondary level, a significant part of which was geared to producing teachers for the primary level. However, this picture conceals the important qualitative changes which were taking place. The training of teachers shifted from grade III to grade II, which was expected to influence favourably the quality of primary school instruction. In the secondary grammar schools in the East greater provision was being made in the curriculum for scientific subjects. There were also plans for a rapid expansion of technical education.

The *Mid-West* was created as recently as 1963, and by 1965 had not published any statistics. Even so, the few data available by inference from Table 1 show that the characteristics of the educational system were similar to those in the West.

The federal territory of *Lagos*, like the North, experienced a continuous and rapid expansion of all types of education, though this expansion was least pronounced in the field of technical and vocational education. However, this

1. ILO Mission, Ibadan, *Some Trends in Education in the Western Region of Nigeria, 1955-65*, Ibadan, October 1965, pp. 6 and 22.

advance was due not to any previous lag, but rather to the unusually rapid growth of the population of school age due to natural increase and substantial immigration from other parts of the country. A notable feature of primary education was the large pupil enrolment per school—some schools had double streams, and a few operated a shift system.

As can be seen from this brief review, the development of education in Nigeria varied considerably from one region to another. This is due to the extensive autonomy which each of the regions enjoyed in educational matters. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the federal government had no power or influence over Nigerian education. The following chapter describes the nature of federal responsibilities and the instruments used, in particular with reference to the planning of educational development.

2 The role and powers of the federal government

Under the federal constitution of Nigeria in operation in 1965 there was a division of executive responsibilities between the federal and regional governments. The latter were responsible for education within their territories, while the former was responsible for education within the federal territory and for a number of other educational institutions, mostly at the higher level, deemed to be of national importance. This meant, in effect, that higher education was the joint responsibility of the federal and regional governments, while primary and secondary education remained the sole responsibility of each regional government. But notwithstanding this delimitation of powers, the federal Ministry of Education became in some measure a national Ministry of Education, particularly with regard to international educational affairs and endeavours to co-ordinate the educational policies of the regional governments with a view to maintaining national standards.

Planning at the federal level

As an independent federation, Nigeria dates only from 1960. Before 1960, under the colonial régime, there were national institutions and, at least on paper, national development plans. But accounts of these plans agree in treating them as something less than planning exercises. Referring to the 'Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1946', and the 'Revised Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1951-56', Clark¹ says, 'These early plans were essentially a disjointed set of individual projects grouped together under departmental headings which reflected the administrative structure of the colonial government rather than any co-ordinated sectoral division of the economy. It was therefore impossible to test

1. P. B. Clark, 'Economic Planning for a Country in Transition: Nigeria', ch. 9 of *Planning Economic Development* (ed. Hagen), Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1963. The quotation is from p. 255.

whether the parts of the plan were complementary or whether the resource supply would balance anticipated future demands.' Similarly a federal government publication, the text of the National Development Plan 1962-68¹ adds: 'These were not "plans" in the true sense of the word. More accurately, they constituted a series of projects which had not been co-ordinated or related to any over-all economic target. Many of the individual schemes proposed no more than an expansion of existing normal departmental activities and, in large measure, the schemes aimed at building up the social as much as the economic services.'

Thus federal activity in any type of planning is a recent phenomenon, and we must remember further that with independence many expatriate civil servants left and Nigerians who were not always prepared for such responsibilities had to control newly recruited and inexperienced subordinates. Thus neither the institutions nor the men to carry out federal planning activities existed to any extent before federation. The main task of the apparatus which has been built up was the formulation of the National Development Plan 1962-68, which took place at the very beginning of its existence. Moreover, in relation to federal planning of education, most of the institutions which were brought into existence and whose roles are discussed in this section were subsequent to the formulation of the plan. Accordingly our evaluation of them must be regarded as tentative in the extreme.

The apparatus for national development planning centred around three bodies: the National Economic Council, the Joint Planning Committee, and the Economic Planning Unit of the federal Ministry of Economic Development. The National Economic Council, which was the highest political (ministerial) level, issued over-all directives to its working arm, the Joint Planning Committee, consisting of senior officials, which developed these over-all directives before it passed them on to its technical arm, the Economic Planning Unit, which in turn translated them into draft proposals. These then had to go back up the scale for modification or final approval. Both the council and the committee were inter-regional in their representation. Naturally, at all stages in this process co-ordination was aimed at between the regional and federal plans, which together formed the National Development Plan.

In preparing the 1962-68 plan the Economic Planning Unit had two distinct tasks: the first, to bring together the proposals of the various federal ministries to form a federal government development programme, the second, the further incorporation of regional programmes to form the National Development Plan.² It should be noted, however, that it is very difficult to obtain a first-hand account of how the Economic Planning Unit proceeded in practice, for the turnover of personnel has been so rapid that the current occupants of positions no longer have

1. Federation of Nigeria. *National Development Plan 1962-68*. Lagos, federal Ministry of Economic Development, undated, p. 6.

2. For the precise meaning given to terms such as 'programme' and 'plan', see next chapter.

a first-hand knowledge of what was done several years ago by their predecessors. We must rely to a large extent, therefore, on documentary sources which are themselves not in complete agreement.

According to Rivkin¹ the unit began its work with a small staff of foreign experts brought in for the purpose, who had first to learn to work as a team, and also with a great variety of politicians and professional people at both regional and federal levels. The essential work of making estimates and projections for the plan had to be carried out with generally inadequate data. At the same time, the foreign experts had to train Nigerians who would later supersede them. The co-ordination of the various proposals was not made easier by the fact that not every ministry was at first willing to accept national planning. Lastly, the economists in the planning unit, in making alternative projections of the progress of the economy, used aggregate economic analysis to present their findings. While useful to the technicians, this presentation was not always fully intelligible to the administrators in the Joint Planning Committee, who had to propose policy choices, or to the politicians in the National Economic Council, who had to make the final decision. Consequently the administrators, instead of making basic recommendations for over-all strategy to guide the subsequent detailed planning, restricted themselves to examining individual federal and regional programmes and considering their financial feasibility. There was, thus, some failure in communication between the technicians and the senior administrators they had to serve,² due to their different concepts of planning.³

Thus the formulation of the Nigerian development plan should not be considered as a good example of organization for planning, and the role of the Economic Planning Unit cannot be taken as a good guide for the future. The unit has since concentrated on training planners in federal ministries and developing processes of data collection and analysis in readiness for the preparation of subsequent development plans.

As far as educational planning was concerned, the federal activities were of a diffuse nature and do not easily lend themselves to a precise description. The federal ministry did not carry out national planning of education in Nigeria, but neither was it concerned only with the planning of educational development in the federal territory of Lagos. It concerned itself (a) with representing Nigerian education abroad, which is not to suggest that regional ministries were thus

1. Arnold Rivkin, 'Economic Development Planning in Nigeria', *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, January 1964, pp. 27-34.

2. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 260 ff. and pp. 273-4; also James O'Connell, 'Some Social and Political Reflections on the Plan', *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, July 1962, p. 135.

3. However, Stolper, who worked as head of the group of economic planners, feels that the accommodations necessitated by these considerations were a strength of the planning process. See Stolper, *op. cit.*, p. 39, footnote.

excluded from international contacts and (b) with endeavours to extend co-ordination of educational activities between the regions. A number of federal bodies had research, information-gathering, co-ordinating and administrative activities whose products were utilized by the regional governments for educational planning purposes. The contribution of the federal government in the field of educational planning can perhaps best be indicated by describing the activities of the main bodies concerned, e.g., the federal Ministry of Education, the National Manpower Board, the Federal Office of Statistics.

The federal Ministry of Education

The ministry had both a national and a local role. In its local role it was responsible for all education within the federal territory of Lagos—not a minor task if one considers that the population probably numbered about one million and was rapidly increasing. With respect to primary education, the government's authority devolved largely on the Lagos City Council, which acted as the local education authority, functioning through its education committee. In other respects, various officials of the ministry were concerned with educational needs of Lagos, e.g., vocational guidance.

In considering the national role of the ministry, it is necessary to bear in mind

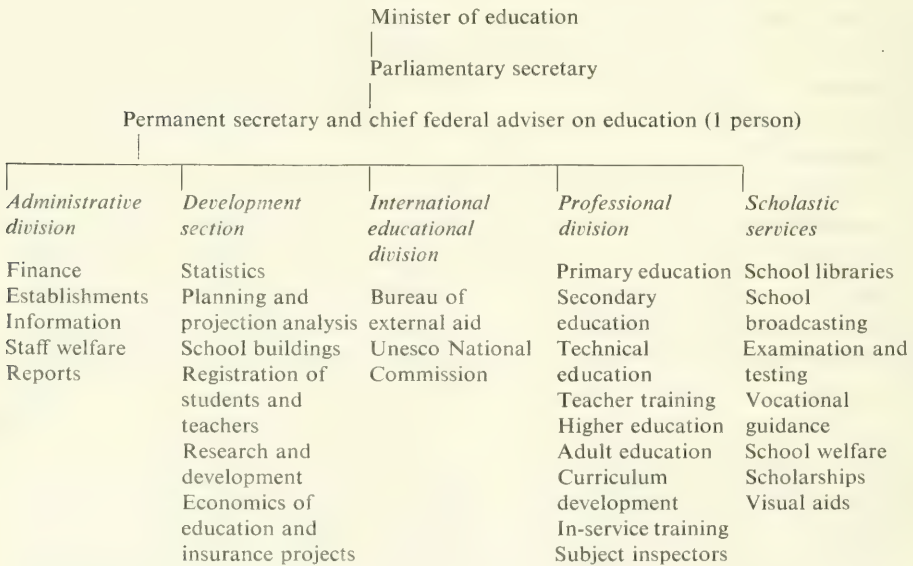


Figure 1. *Federal Ministry of Education: responsibilities (April 1965)*

not only the ministry's structure, but also the manning of the constituent divisions. As is the case in nearly every administrative body in a developing country, the federal Ministry of Education suffered from shortages of qualified personnel and a rapid turnover.

Given this background, it is not surprising that many of the sections of the ministry did not function in the way their appellations might lead one to expect. Thus 'Planning and projection analysis' was inactive because it had no personnel (as of May 1965). In the professional division, the sections dealing with the various levels and types of education had federal advisers but sometimes no other executive officers; moreover, the advisers apparently operated mainly as inspectors of educational facilities in the federal territory, though this may only imply that they were misleadingly named.

Another aspect of the work of the professional division which requires consideration with regard to the fostering of educational co-operation between federal and regional authorities is the Joint Consultative Committee. This was the parent body of a series of reference committees for teacher-training, primary, secondary, technical and rural education. These met periodically, in theory every six months, though in practice the parent committee at least met less frequently, e.g., the June 1965 meeting was the first for over a year. Committee meetings were attended by representatives of the federal and regional ministries of education, the university institutes of education, and teachers' and principals' organizations. Their purpose was to ensure interchange of information on educational progress in the regions, explore possibilities of inter-regional co-ordination, discuss the development of Nigerian education, and make recommendations to regional governments.

Examination of minutes of meetings of some of these committees suggests that their discussions did not always deal with problems important for educational planning; indeed, one regular participant in these meetings expressed the view that, as is often the case with inter-governmental bodies within a federal state, discussions were confined to rather minor and uncontroversial subjects. Another participant, a senior official of one of the regional ministries of education, gave the opinion that the meetings were always packed with representatives of the federal ministry (though attendance records do not always clearly show this), and would reflect strongly federal viewpoints. For our purposes the important point about such opinions is not their truth or falsehood, but simply their existence, with its implications for the conduct of regional officials concerned with educational planning. Consequently, the Joint Consultative Committee appeared ineffective as a device for co-ordinating federal and regional activities relating to education, and this in turn seriously lessened the potential role of the federal Ministry of Education as a co-ordinating mechanism for national educational planning. Indeed, one is forced towards the conclusion that there was no national educational

planning, but rather a series of regional programmes operating to a large extent independently of each other, despite all the efforts of the federal ministry to overcome this situation.

It is against this background that the National Educational Research Council must be viewed. Its purposes were (a) to gather information on all educational research relating to Nigeria, whether completed, in progress or envisaged; (b) to set up a documentation centre to collate such research and studies as are relevant to Nigeria and to circulate them in the form of abstracts to Nigerian authorities; and (c) to prepare proposals for educational research by Nigerian institutions in accordance with the needs of the country. The council included representatives of the ministries of education, the universities, research bodies, and principals' and teachers' organizations. It could play an important role in Nigerian educational planning by maximizing the use of scarce research resources; but there was some suspicion in the regions towards the federal government which will have to be overcome if the council is to fulfil its purpose. It began its activities by compiling a list of educational research, completed or in progress, carried out by Nigerian institutions.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the role of the federal Ministry of Education in the planning of Nigerian education has been limited by many factors and especially by the constitutional division of responsibilities for education.

The National Manpower Board

The National Manpower Board was one of the bodies whose creation was recommended by the Ashby Commission. Its basic task was to co-ordinate the work of all ministries concerned with manpower—at the federal level these were in particular the Ministries of Labour, Education and Economic Development. The board could only make recommendations to the ministries, though the fact that it is directly responsible to the National Economic Council, the supreme co-ordinating body in development planning, makes it more likely that ministries will take account of its recommendations. But discussion of the board's role in the preparation of plans is still largely academic, because it was set up after the current plan had been prepared (except that it worked out the manpower implications of the Mid-West development plan). At present, its importance lies in its role as a servicing agency for the ministries concerned with manpower, e.g., its annual recommendations form the basis of federal scholarship policy.

Its first major project was the survey of high- and medium-level manpower resources and projection of needs until 1970. Further tasks included a labour-force survey, and a compilation of available training facilities as a step towards ensuring

their maximum use. The board is thus producing information which is of immediate relevance to educational planning. On the basis of such information the level of scholarship grants was reduced in order to permit an increase in their number and the allocation of scholarships between different subjects altered in accordance with manpower needs. This was done in the first instance by the federal government, but the advice was passed on to the regional scholarship boards for similar action.

The board was criticized by the regions, mainly on the ground that a manpower survey which set national targets was of no use in the endeavours of regional governments to meet regional requirements. There were regional manpower committees for liaison between the board and the regional governments, but they appeared to be inactive. Regional governments could direct the board to undertake specific studies for them, and on this basis the board worked out the manpower implications of the development plan for the Mid-West.¹ The usefulness of the board will thus depend on the demands made upon it by the regional governments. Initially, with its limited resources, the board concentrated on national matters. But, potentially, it represents a very valuable adjunct to educational planning, on the regional as well as federal levels.

The National Universities Commission

This was another of the bodies established as a result of a recommendation of the Ashby Commission. An administrative agency, directly responsible to the prime minister, it came into being in October 1962.

The principal task of the commission relates to the financing of university development. It therefore began its work with a survey of university development, future needs and financing, making specific recommendations for the period 1963/64-1967/68. These recommendations, published in 1963,² concerned all the governments of the Federation, though in their financial aspects they involved primarily the federal government. Accordingly, before taking action on the commission's recommendations, the federal government consulted with the regional governments and then made its decisions in the expectation that the latter would follow suit.

As overseer of university development, the commission was naturally concerned with fostering this in directions which accorded with national manpower needs,

1. Mid-Western Nigeria, *Mid-Western Nigeria Development Plan 1964-68*, Benin City, Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1965. See ch. 8, 'Manpower Implications and Employment Potential of the Development Plan'.

2. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *University Development in Nigeria*, Report of the National Universities Commission, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1963.

though it recognized the danger of interfering with the independence of the universities and characterized its role as that of 'stimulation, encouragement and co-ordination'.¹ A basic policy was to encourage each of the five Nigerian universities to concentrate initially on certain faculties so as to make the best use of existing resources. In this way, the universities assumed a national role, although three of them were regional institutions. Indeed in selected instances faculty developments were intended to serve pan-African needs, e.g., medicine at Ibadan, veterinary science at Ahmadu Bello.

The commission was in close contact with the National Manpower Board—the commission's secretary sat on the board's policy committee—and was fully informed of future manpower requirements so that it could advise the universities accordingly. It also advised the Economic Planning Unit of the federal Ministry of Economic Development on the likely future output of the universities. Lastly, the commission acted as the channel for external assistance to Nigerian universities and, in this connexion, was also an *ex officio* member of the Co-ordinating Committee for External Aid for Education.

All these functions are of recent origin and post-date the preparation of the current plan, so that a fuller evaluation of their significance will only be possible when subsequent plans have been prepared. In the interim, the commission began undertaking a series of studies bearing on the output of secondary schools and the university input during the period 1968-72, on the administration and financing of higher education, and on student accommodation, to provide information needed for future decision-making.

The commission, as already mentioned, was directly responsible to the federal Prime Minister, and responsibility for university education in the regions also rested with the regional premiers. It is not clear why there was this sharp division of ministerial responsibility between the universities and other levels of education, though the strong belief in Nigeria that universities should be autonomous and independent may have led to the feeling that any degree of control over them must be exercised by the highest political authorities. This and the fact that the commission was associated with all federal agencies concerned with national development planning make it potentially an important body in the planning of education in Nigeria. The federal structure combined with regional autonomy and the division of responsibility as between the universities and other levels of education seemed likely to keep the commission rather remote from the activities of the regional ministries of education; in fact, there did not appear to be any direct formal channel of communication between the commission and the regional ministries of education. For the sake of over-all planning of education in each region such a link would seem desirable.

1. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 9.

The Federal Office of Statistics

This is the main source of statistical information in Nigeria, though, hitherto, educational statistics were the responsibility of the federal Ministry of Education. However, the Office schedule of work for the remainder of the current planning period (i.e., until 1967/68) under the heading of education included development of the current *Digest of Educational Statistics*, surveys of investment in human resources and of the output of different levels and types of education, and the collection of statistics on educational financing. It was not clear whether these tasks would be performed by the Office or by the federal Ministry of Education.

The Office also collects other data relevant to educational planning, such as in employment surveys, and intended to make sample surveys of the labour force which would include questions on literacy and level of education. Lastly, the Office is responsible for the collection of demographic data, which has meant principally the most recent census. Processing of the census data will take several years and should result in basic information for use in regional educational planning.

Of the agencies discussed above, the National Manpower Board and the National Universities Commission seemed the most important, both actually and potentially, for educational planning in particular, because they represented sources of information and expertise which could be utilized by the regional governments. There were definite signs that this was beginning to happen. But when considering whether it would be possible to devise better federal machinery for educational planning on a national level, one should bear in mind the delicate and complicated balance of power as between federal and regional governments and the suspicion with which the latter looked upon initiatives of the former. It is for these reasons that educational planning in Nigeria was a reality on the regional rather than the federal level, and must be considered in more detail in this context.

3 The planning process in the regions of Nigeria

Before analysing the planning process with its various stages as it has been carried out in the different regions of Nigeria, it will be useful to define clearly the meaning of certain terms and the nature of the planning process itself. It is only against such a conceptual background that the unfolding of a specific planning process can be properly analysed, and possibly this conception may be of interest to other analysts of experiences of planning.

The nature of the planning process

The planning process entails action on a number of levels, corresponding to what are usually called 'project', 'programme', and 'plan'. The meaning of these terms is indicated by the title of a chapter in a United Nations publication: 'Integration of a Programme of Projects into an Investment Plan'.¹ Accordingly, a project can be defined as 'the smallest unit of investment activity to be considered in the course of programming', a programme as 'a co-ordinated set of projects';² and a plan as a co-ordinated set of programmes. The term 'co-ordinated' is important for, without co-ordination, a set of projects does not make up a programme nor a set of programmes a plan. In the context of an educational plan, a programme might be the expansion of enrolments in secondary education, and the relevant set of projects would then include such steps as the provision of new or the extension of existing secondary schools, the provision of secondary school teachers, etc.

The planning process can be divided into several stages. In the first place, the planners, before beginning the task of preparing a plan, must be given directives about its aims. These can only be set by the highest political authority in accordance

1. United Nations (ECAFE), *Programming Techniques for Economic Development*, Bangkok, 1960, Sales no. 60.II.F.3, ch. IV.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

with its general policies in the political, economic and social fields. The issuing of directives is then the first stage.

The second stage consists in the preparation of the plan by the planning agency, in accordance not only with the over-all aims as set out by the government's directives, but also with the amount of resources available to fulfil objectives consistent with these aims. If the resources are not sufficient, the objectives have to be scaled down accordingly.

This leads to the third stage, the approval of the plan by the government or another body, such as a planning council or the relevant ministry, specially entrusted by the government with this task. The plan thus approved goes into its fourth stage, that of implementation, which is followed by the fifth and final stage, the review of progress achieved in the fulfilment of the targets of the plan.

At the first glance, these five stages appear as consecutive ones. However, as soon as they are examined in detail, it becomes clear that the sequence in terms of timing is much more complex than this. It is suggested that this sequence depends to a large extent on the nature of the governmental and administrative structure within which the planning process is carried out and in particular on the freedom of action enjoyed by the planning agency.

In this context we can examine more closely the second stage following upon the issuing of directives—the preparation of the draft plan for approval. Such a draft may be simply a setting-out of the major targets of the plan, or it may be a very detailed exposition of the constituent programmes and projects required. The point here is that approval of the draft plan may relate only to the broad outlines of the plan and may be given before the detailed proposals have been worked out, the latter being left to the responsibility of the planning agency or even of some lower authorities. In other words, instead of saying that approval follows preparation, we are justified in saying that preparation must *begin*, but need not be completed, before approval. It follows that the implementation of the plan may also begin before the detailed preparation of it has been completed. Some projects, for instance, may be timed for the latter part of the plan period, and their detailed preparation can be left until earlier and more urgent projects have been completed. Similarly, the review of the progress of the plan need not await the completion of the implementation stage; in fact, it should begin in the course of it.

The conclusion is that, while the *beginning* of each stage may be expected to precede the beginning of the next stage, no stage need be completed before the next one starts. Thus several stages may be running concurrently, and the planning process may be represented graphically by Figure 2 (page 34).

In a planning process there is theoretically a distinction between planning and policy; the planner proposes, the policy-maker disposes. But in practice it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between the two. To the extent that

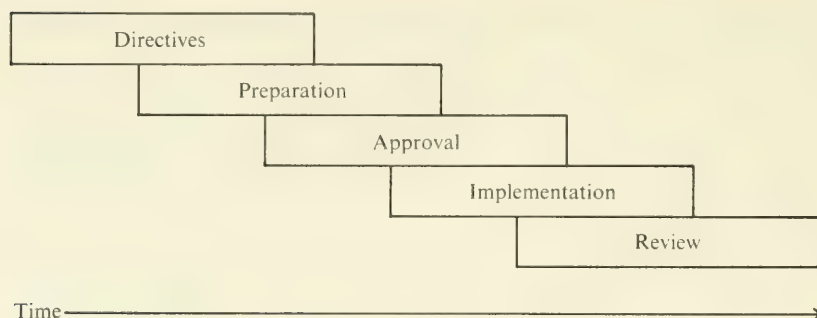


Figure 2. *The stages of the planning process*

the planning agency has freedom of action, it can formulate policies in detail, e.g., when the approval of the political authority is limited to the broad outlines of the plan or programmes, while the working-out of projects is left to the planning agency. We suggested before that a key factor governing the disposition through time of the stages of the planning process is the structure of authority surrounding the planning agency. This now becomes clearer, e.g., to the extent that responsibility for approval of the plan and its contents is concentrated at a level above that of the agency so the latter must complete preparation of the plan before approval takes place. Dissatisfaction on the part of the approval body with the initial proposals of the planners may result in their return for reformulation and resubmission. Similarly the extent to which preparation of all the details of the plan is concentrated in the planning agency is likely to determine, at least to some extent, how far preparation work is completed before implementation begins. Also the nature of the link between the educational planners and the highest government authorities may help to determine how far the planners feel able to begin work on preparing a plan before they receive the government's directives.

Naturally in a country which embarks on its first plan, the apparatus for planning has to be created, and here the biggest problem is the lack of resources for planning, especially of personnel and information. The former may initially be overcome by importing foreign experts, who should train local replacements. But then the changeover to local staff creates a discontinuity in the planning process, particularly in the initial period. In any event a priority task of any planning personnel is the creation of machinery and procedures for the collection and processing of the necessary data for planning.

Another difficulty arises from the lack of familiarity with planning among those at the political level who are charged with issuing directives and approving proposals. In issuing their directives, they may make unrealistic or even conflicting demands on the planners, and in approving—or rejecting—proposals, they may use wrong criteria for evaluating them.

The inter-ministerial linkages demanded by educational planning are also a potential source of failure in an initial educational planning exercise.¹ The education ministry needs close contact with ministries such as finance, public works, local governments, labour, and economic development in planning a comprehensive development of education in relation to national development. It is essential to establish with the relevant officials in other ministries the implications of the plan in the areas of their competence, and to make sure that they make allowances in their own work accordingly. This is easy to state: it may be less easy to carry out in a framework of government not adapted to such consultations.

When planning begins, officials have to adjust to the idea of working with programmes which may run throughout the planning period, instead of having their operations dominated by an annual expenditure budget. This adjustment is not easy, especially in the case of the ministry of finance, whose revenue-collecting activities in particular are organized on an annual basis. The order of priorities for the fulfilment of planning objectives, in education as in any other activity of government, does not accord with the criteria for support of projects used by the ministry of finance working with annual budgets. In Eastern Nigeria in 1965 these were stated to be (a) the revenue-producing potential of projects, (b) the availability of foreign aid to support local financing, and (c) the need to preserve a balance between capital and recurrent expenditure to maintain on-going projects before initiating new ones. The implications for government financial operations of the adoption of planning as a technique of governing are a relatively neglected topic, since satisfactory implementation of a plan on schedule requires long-term financial commitments, presented in the form of programme budgets, which go beyond the horizon provided by a framework of annual budgets.

But perhaps the biggest hurdle to overcome is in the implementation of the plan, because it presupposes the existence not only of an efficient central machinery, but also of a system of local administration capable both of carrying out instructions from above and of reporting back to the centre on the progress achieved. For the purposes of educational planning, an efficient inspection service is essential to success. Thus in the following pages we shall deal at some length with the local administrative arrangements for educational inspection.

It now remains to consider, against the background of the conceptual framework sketched above, the ways in which the five stages of educational planning were carried out in the four regions of Nigeria.

1. See Raymond Vernon, 'Comprehensive Model-building in the Planning Process: the Case of the Less-developed Economies', *Economic Journal*, London, March 1966, pp. 57-69, and the references therein, for further discussion of this and associated points.

Directives for planning

This first stage of planning is the one which so far has received least consideration in Nigeria, and about which very little information is available. The politicians are the people most concerned at this stage of the planning process. Indeed a recent commentator¹ has stated, with reference to West Africa as a whole, that 'it is no longer possible, as in the colonial days, for senior civil servants to act largely on their own initiative. They no longer formulate government policies, but, rather, provide policy advice and implement policy decisions made by the political leadership. Indeed civil servants in West Africa have often found it difficult to perform even these functions. Politicians in most of these states frequently make important policy decisions, without the advice of their civil servants. Moreover, political leaders and party officials interfere to an excessive degree in even the detailed implementation of government policies and programmes'. What leads politicians to advocate certain broad educational aims as national or party educational policies? What influences the educational thinking of political leaders responsible for initiating the development of new nations?

These questions are not easily answered. Recent educational planning in Nigeria has taken place within the framework of the federal and regional components of the National Development Plan 1962-68, and directives for planning derived from several sources of power and opinion, in particular regional ministries and boards of education and various independent commissions appointed to review the educational system and make recommendations with a view to its further development.

Each regional ministry of education had an advisory board of education, composed of representatives of the ministry, the local education authorities, the voluntary agencies, private institutions and teachers' organizations. The board of the Northern Region included in addition members of parliament and representatives of the university and of Islamic learning. The role of the boards was to make recommendations to the Minister of Education on policy matters referred to them. But discussion with various ministry officials suggested that, except in the North, the boards did not have a significant influence in originating policies.

A far greater influence on the formulation of policies was exerted by the reports and recommendations of a number of specially appointed commissions.²

1. Richard L. Harris, 'The Role of the Civil Servant in West Africa', *Public Administration Review*, Washington, D.C., December 1965, pp. 308-13. The quotation is from pages 308-9.
2. Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria, *Investment in Education, The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria*, Lagos, Federal Government Printer, 1960 (The 'Ashby Report'). Ministry of Education, Eastern Nigeria, *Report on the Review of the Educational System in Eastern Nigeria*, Enugu, Government Printer, 1962 (The 'Dike Report'). *Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria*, Enugu, Government Printer, 1964 (The 'Ikoku Report'). Government of Western

Of these, the most significant was the report of the Ashby Commission which provided the basis for the expansion of primary education in Northern Nigeria, the impetus to create the National Manpower Board and the National Universities Commission, a first analysis of Nigeria's future requirements for qualified manpower, and an impulse for the expansion of sixth forms, science teaching, technical education and advanced teacher training, and also focused attention on the utilization of foreign aid for educational development. The Oldman Report in Northern Nigeria, through its recommendations with regard to the development of educational inspection services, amendments of the education law and, above all, the proposal setting up local education authorities, provided much of the foundation for subsequent educational planning in the region. In Eastern Nigeria, the Dike Report foreshadowed the emphasis in the region's programme on the expansion of secondary education, particularly with regard to science, on the rationalization of teacher-training facilities, and on the development of technical and vocational education in line with manpower needs. In the Western Region, the Banjo Report led to steps to improve the structure of the Ministry of Education and of local administration, and to certain modifications in the system of secondary modern schools, though it would seem to have had fewer practical results than the other reports, perhaps owing to the political and economic difficulties experienced by the Western Region. It is interesting also that this Report contained a section¹ on the significance of the Ashby Report for the West.

All these reports had influence not only on the ministers of education who were responsible for inaugurating them, but on governments in general, and they were a potent factor in the formulation of directives for educational policies. This was no doubt connected with the eminence of the people who sat on the commissions and with their first-hand experience of conditions in Nigeria or elsewhere in Africa.

It is much more difficult to assess the relative influence of the various ministries concerned in the formulation of educational policies, particularly the ministry of education and the ministry of economic planning in each region. According to an expert who participated in the process in Eastern Nigeria,² the executive ministries there each enjoyed considerable freedom of action in the initial proposal of projects. This suggests that the main responsibility for directives for educational planning rested with the Ministry of Education. However, the contents of the plan were influenced at a later stage, that of approval, by other regional ministries,

Nigeria, *Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria*, Ibadan, Government Printer, 1961 (The 'Banjo Report'). Northern Nigeria, *The Administration of Primary Education*, Kaduna, Government Printer, 1961, ('The Oldman Report').

1. Chapter III.

2. Frank J. Moore, 'Development Planning in Eastern Nigeria', *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, London, July 1964, pp. 136-44.

particularly the Ministry of Economic Planning, within the framework of inter-ministerial committees. In addition the Ministry of Economic Planning initially had the assistance of the federal Joint Planning Committee in establishing policy guidelines for the subsequent approval of regional ministerial proposals. A somewhat similar situation appears to have prevailed in the North.

It seems less likely that this independence of the executive ministries with regard to planning could be maintained in the future, since the planning organs were established more or less simultaneously with the initiation of the present plan and hence had no time to assert independent lines of action.

Preparation of plans

In the case of Nigeria, it is not possible to speak straightforwardly of the preparation of educational plans, since there were no specifically educational plans¹ nor, except in Northern Nigeria, educational planning units, before 1965. Thus this second stage of planning was limited to the preparation of programmes of educational projects in the context of the National Development Plan by senior civil servants in regional ministries of education. There was, however, an earlier instance of the preparation of a partial plan—the plan to introduce universal free primary education in Western Nigeria—and we shall consider this briefly before discussing the preparation of the educational programmes in the current National Development Plan.

The preparation of universal free primary education in Western Nigeria

This provides an instance of planning where the government gave a lead and invoked local assistance to facilitate expansion of an educational system where many facilities were to be provided from sources other than the government, though with significant government financing. The preparation of the programme began in 1952, nearly three years before it was to come into effect. However, it started without the most fundamental prerequisites for planning—even the basic population data were lacking, as were personnel with previous experience of similar work. Trial and error was the rule rather than the exception, and it took nearly a year to evolve a consolidated questionnaire for the gathering of the necessary statistical information. The work of gathering this information and then planning the development of facilities to operate the new policy devolved, partly,

1. For the meanings attached to the terms 'plan', 'programme', and 'project', the reader is referred to p. 32 of the present study.

on the very small staff of the Ministry of Education and, partly, on the educational officers responsible for the eight provinces then constituting the Western Region. They in turn established a series of district planning committees, usually corresponding to a district council area and set up by the existing local education committees.¹ The planning committees were composed of local people, including chiefs, councillors, teachers, missionaries and traders, one of them acting as chairman. Each committee had as secretary a government visiting teacher (GVT), roughly equivalent to an area inspector of education, who usually acted as secretary to several committees in addition to his normal duties. The GVTs formed the lowest echelon of the planning staff, expounding and enforcing government policy in their committees. They were kept informed of government policy by means of circulars and regular meetings with the provincial officers, who acted as the link between the ministry and the district planning committees.

A major task for this machinery was the registration of all children who would be 6 years old in January 1955, the potential first intake of the programme, and a survey of available class-room accommodation. This was undertaken in July 1954 by the district planning committees, operating through headmasters. But, in the absence of a system of registration of births, it was found that the number of 6-year-old children in January 1955 greatly exceeded the number derived from the 1952 census which had formed the basis for initial planning. In consequence, the numbers of class-rooms and teachers initially proposed were found to be inadequate, particularly in the towns, where the discrepancy was greatest and where it was most difficult to find sites for additional schools, and a considerable late effort was necessary to accommodate all the children.

It must be added that the GVTs, who were the key men at the local level in the preparation of the plans, had many other duties unconnected with this task, that communications between the regional capital and the local centres were slow and irregular, and that the inexperience of the ministerial planning staff often resulted in imprecise or inadequate instructions to GVTs which needed subsequent correction. Hence the considerable delays in the process of gathering information.

On the basis of the information, the GVTs drew up plans for approval by their district planning committees and subsequent submission to the provincial officer and the ministry. After the ministry's approval, work began on the expansion of existing schools or the buildings of new ones by the proprietors, i.e., local authorities and voluntary agencies, aided by a government grant of £200 per class-room. The GVTs had the additional task of reporting progress to the ministry.

1. For an account of the work from the point of view of a provincial official, see R.E. Crookall, 'Universal Education in Western Nigeria', *Overseas Education*, London, April 1958, pp. 3-11.

Simultaneously, the Ministry of Education had to ensure the availability of the necessary resources, which meant in practice organizing the training of the additional teachers needed and finding the necessary finance. Capital expenditure was financed by means of grants from the reserves of the Cocoa Marketing Board, and the additional recurrent expenditure mainly from supplementary indirect taxes, again largely on cocoa. But owing to the instability of cocoa prices on the world markets, this proved a source of built-in weakness. When prices fell the ability of the Western Region to support the recurrent financial burden was seriously impaired but, because of the legal commitment to provide universal free primary education, this limited the capacity to provide other services.

The greatest mishap was the discovery, a few months before the scheme was due to be put into effect, that the number of children registering for inclusion, and hence the requirements for class-rooms and teachers, were much higher than expected, thus impairing the effectiveness of the arrangements made in advance to train extra teachers. Thus when the scheme became operational in January 1955 there were only just over 4,000 trained and certificated teachers as against 26,000 untrained or partly trained,¹ and even by 1958 less than one-third of the primary school teachers were classified as trained.² Because of the initial failure to discover far enough in advance the scale of the requirement for teachers there was an impairment of the subsequent quality of primary education in Western Nigeria, which perhaps partly accounted for high rates of wastage, in turn lessening the effectiveness of a large segment of government expenditure. This traces back ultimately to the unpreparedness of government personnel for undertaking such an exercise, which in turn highlights the crucial importance in a planning exercise of having some trained personnel available.

*The preparation of educational programmes within
the National Development Plan 1962-68*

It should be said at the outset that in studying even the recent history of planning in Nigeria the main difficulty is lack of first-hand information, which is the result of the mobility of the personnel involved. Nigerianization has resulted in the replacement of most of the expatriate staff, and the Nigerian replacements themselves have moved rapidly between posts to meet the most pressing shortages, or have gone abroad for further training. Thus the occupants of the relevant posts in 1965 were usually not the people who prepared the educational proposals for the National Development Plan in 1962, and hence it is less easy to evaluate

1. O'Connell, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

2. J.E. Adetoro, 'Universal Primary Education and the Teacher Supply Problem in Nigeria', *Comparative Education*, Oxford, June 1966, p. 210.

this work as an instance of the preparation stage of an educational planning exercise.

As indicated above, the recommendations of the various *ad hoc* commissions have been reflected in planning proposals in all regions. In Northern Nigeria, the Ashby ten-year targets for primary, secondary and higher education led to the White Paper on Education Development, and were then scaled down to the six-year period of the development plan. In Eastern Nigeria, the educational proposals of the plan, with their emphasis on technical education, were also based on the Ashby recommendations, though it is not clear how the figures for Nigeria as a whole given in the Ashby Report were translated in terms of Eastern Nigeria's needs.

Each region's educational proposals were set out in the National Development Plan, together with the annual allocations for expenditure over the planning period. But it was not made clear how these figures were arrived at, though it would seem that the initial financial allocation acted as a ceiling on the scale of the proposals. The choice of projects in each region appears to have been made by the respective ministries of education through their senior civil servants, though the ministries of economic planning have formally the responsibility for the preparation of the plan in each region. But in the case of Eastern Nigeria, the Ministry of Education, and the executive ministries in general, were encouraged to submit proposals of their own to the Ministry of Economic Planning, partly because the latter was short of competent staff, and partly to encourage smooth co-operation between the ministries concerned.¹ Similarly, in the North, a newly established Ministry of Economic Planning had little control over proposals submitted by the Ministry of Education. In the West, there seems to have been inadequate project analysis by ministries, reflecting a lack of qualified personnel.²

If all these steps appear as very limited exercises in educational planning, they should be viewed in the light of the considerable difficulties and obstacles which they faced in the different regions. Among these we discuss below in greater detail the opposition of some influential interests to the idea of government control over education, the lack of statistical data, the lack of information on educational costs, and the extreme shortage of qualified personnel.

To take the first of these obstacles, some important interests in the Nigerian educational community were unwilling to consider the idea of government control over education being extended beyond the traditional role of setting standards to be observed by the proprietors of schools. Thus in Eastern Nigeria the Dike Report stated³ '... the Catholic mission which owns and controls a little less than

1. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

2. *Western Nigeria Development Plan 1962-68, First Progress Report*, Ibadan, Government Printer, 1964, pp. 2-5.

3. Dike Report, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

50 per cent of the schools in the region and which received well over £1 million last year from the state to run these schools, is opposed to state education'. The report went on to support this forthright statement with quotations from Catholic publications. The tenor of these was that Catholic opinion was opposed to any scheme of rationalization of facilities for primary education, even where these were wastefully duplicated by various voluntary agencies, on the ground that it might result in some Catholic children not having easy access to Catholic schools. Similarly it was not felt that the provision of religious education in a system of state schools was an adequate substitute for existing Catholic education facilities. Again the Ikoku Report stated¹ '... there has been a culpable lack of *co-ordinated planning*. Government has been content to demand the minimum requirements for efficiency while giving the agencies a blank cheque for educational expansion' and '... no one will question the right of Government ... to plan a national system of education within the capacity of the national economy to bear'. The report went on to call for the amalgamation of uneconomic school units. However the Catholic education secretary, who was a member of the Ikoku Commission, felt obliged to dissociate himself from adherence to these statements, singling out the proposed school amalgamation policy as open to objection.² In such a climate of opinion meaningful educational planning was difficult to contemplate.

In parts of the North, there has been very little enthusiasm for any but Moslem education, and the main problem consisted in getting the children into the schools. In view of the large measure of authority exercised by local rulers in this region, it was necessary to encourage these leaders to support educational development. This was done by establishing a network of local education authorities, each serviced by a specially trained education officer, in which local dignitaries became members. The preparation stage of educational planning in the North was thus concentrated on the formulation of local plans at the local level by the education officers, naturally subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education planning unit.

Another major obstacle to the preparation of plans was the lack of statistical information. In fact, one of the reasons for developing local planning machinery in the North was to aid the collection and transmission of local statistical information. The North has possibly the most useful collection of published data for educational planning, though of limited duration. Since 1961, it has been publishing an annual volume entitled, *School Statistics of Northern Nigeria*, later changed to *Classes, Enrolments and Teachers in the Schools of Northern Nigeria*, and there was an intention to publish separate data on educational expenditures. However, there was inadequate information on the stock of buildings and

1. Ikoku Report, op. cit., p. 2.

2. Ibid., appendix G.

equipment, or the additions to that stock, and, above all, no information on the size of the population. This last question became a matter of political dispute, and lack of information on this subject constituted a major obstacle to educational planning.

In Eastern Nigeria there was also a lack of demographic information and, in addition, the region had nothing to compare with the staff and organization card of the North, which had to be completed annually by each primary school headmaster to provide data on teachers, buildings, enrolments, attendance and school leavers. Instead, the East made use of the grant-in-aid applications to gather data on the numbers, salaries and qualifications of teachers and the number of pupils in each class. Some effort was being made to collect other data, but their processing had been very slow. The only regular publication containing statistics was the *Annual Report of the Ministry of Education*, which appeared with a delay of two to three years.

In Western Nigeria the machinery for the collection of statistics was centralized in the statistical division of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development. Its publications included an *Annual Abstract of Education Statistics*. This contained data on numbers, types and proprietorship of educational institutions, on enrolments, numbers and qualifications of teachers, but very little on expenditures for education. The main means for the collection of data were questionnaires sent directly to schools, but the rate of response was not known. The arrangements for the collection of statistics were to be changed in 1965, with individual ministries taking over responsibility for the collection and dissemination of statistics in their respective fields. Thus, a new planning and research section within the Ministry of Education, headed by a curriculum, planning and research officer, was to be responsible for educational statistics.

The regions had varying administrative arrangements within their ministries of education for the collection and processing of statistics. That for the West has been mentioned above. In the East, this task was performed by the statistics section in the Ministry of Education which, in May 1965, had one US-AID expert and two Nigerian assistants under training. In the North, it was carried out by the statistics section in the planning division of the Ministry of Education, run by a Nigerian trained by a US-AID expert.

Apart from the uncertainty with regard to demographic data, the inadequate information on educational costs was frequently stated by officials to be a major obstacle to the preparation of educational plans in Nigeria. It also contributed to the difficult relations between ministries of finance and ministries responsible for planning. It was difficult to predict with any certainty how much finance would be available for the period of the National Development Plan, for several reasons. Foreign aid, which had been assumed to cover 50 per cent of the capital expenditure of the plan, amounted in fact to only 12.3 per cent during the first

two years, or 20.9 per cent if the value of technical assistance is included.¹ In fact, the position was even less satisfactory than is suggested by these figures, since donors often offered aid for projects which were not in line with the priorities of the plan. Another source of finance, the government receipts from export earnings, can vary considerably in accordance with trends on the world's markets, and international prices in fact declined in recent years. The amount of government revenue was therefore uncertain, and this made it difficult for ministries of finance to guarantee advance support of projects in the plan.

But the costing of the projects by the ministries of education was also insufficiently detailed. Their demands on the ministries of finance tended to be 'open-ended', as, for instance, the Eastern Region's project called 'Ashby Report recommendations not elsewhere specified' which accounted for half of the region's projected capital expenditure on education under the plan and for well over 80 per cent of recurrent expenditure; the plan simply stated that detailed recommendations and their cost would be worked out in the course of the plan period.² Conversely the finance ministry then lacked criteria for allocating money between the projects of different executive ministries. This not only forces a ministry of finance to use some rule of thumb in allocating available finance between the various executive ministries, but can also delay foreign aid to education, because donors are often unwilling to commit funds without having detailed information on the projects for which these funds are going to be used.

Thus the figures set down in the plan for expenditure for educational projects should be considered as tentative in the extreme. No doubt, planners find it difficult to prepare projects when there is so much uncertainty about the possibility of financing them, but neither can ministries of finance find it easy to allocate funds to projects whose costing and phasing are inadequate.

All or most of these difficulties and obstacles in preparing plans were due in the last resort to one primary cause—the lack of qualified personnel, qualified, that is, for planning education. In most cases, the officials who carried out this work had had extensive experience as inspectors or principals of educational institutions, but no experience of planning, of relating the components of an educational system together in terms of timing and of stocks and flows, whether of finance, teachers, pupils or class-room accommodation. The question arises, and not only in Nigeria, whether educators who have been primarily concerned with administering the standards of an educational system can be expected to cope successfully with the problems involved in planning both quantitative and qualitative educational development, or whether a better solution, wherever possible, would be to entrust such tasks to personnel specifically trained for this

1. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Development Plan, Progress Report 1964*, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1965, p. 34.

2. Federation of Nigeria, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

purpose and working in close conjunction with the existing experienced educators.

In considering the various regions, no mention was made of the Mid-West. This region was established only in 1963 and subsequently produced a development plan for the period 1964-68. As far as educational development is concerned, the preparation was rather different from that of the programmes discussed above. An important role was played by the National Manpower Board, which undertook a survey to discover the manpower implications of the proposals for development. In the light of the findings of the manpower board and in view of the region's very limited financial resources and almost complete absence of statistical information, it was decided to lay the emphasis on qualitative improvements of the existing educational structure so as to ensure the essential manpower requirements provided for in the plan. This was to be achieved by extending government-owned educational institutions to every part of the region so that they should act as models for private institutions, many of which left much to be desired. The projects bore mainly on the improvement and expansion of facilities for scientific, technical and vocational education in line with manpower needs. Indeed, it may be said that, within the limits of its financial possibilities, the Mid-West plan laid a stronger emphasis on education as a prerequisite for economic development than any of the other regions, with particular stress on the quality of education as distinct from mere quantitative expansion.

As can be seen, the main obstacle to the preparation of plans in Nigeria was the lack of statistical information. The situation has perhaps best been summed up by Moore, and his statement with reference to the Eastern Nigeria plan for 1962-68 can be extended to the rest of the National Development Plan.

'It is well to think of the plan as published as a satisfactory first approximation—an outline of suggested solutions to roughly defined problems—which will be refined by stages and over time, as more facts become available and as experience is gained on the job of working along the directions set by the plan.'¹

Approval of plans

When considering the third stage of planning, it may be asked whether this stage begins when the planners initially submit a set of proposals for approval and continues until a final set of proposals has received political approval and been embodied in legislation; or whether the approval stage should be confined to the final act of acceptance and legislative sanction, the submission of successive drafts and the ensuing discussions between planners and authorities being treated as part of the preparation of plans. According to our concept of the planning process as a series of successive but overlapping stages, it is clear that the approval stage

1. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

begins with the initial submission of proposals and continues until the final proposals receive approval and legislative sanction. Equally, the preparation stage does not stop when the approval stage begins; the two continue together, preparation ceasing only when a set of proposals is accepted by the government. It is on this basis that we shall consider the rather similar methods used for the approval of both the federal and regional programmes contained in the National Development Plan.

The arrangements at the federal level have already been mentioned previously in connexion with the federal contribution to educational planning, but we shall refer to them in so far as they affect regional arrangements.

In the Eastern Region, the first step in the approval stage was the consideration of the projects by the Standing Working Party, a group of officials from the Ministries of Economic Planning, Finance, Works, Commerce, Agriculture, and the premier's office, with officials of other ministries as and when their projects were under discussion. Within this group, the Ministry of Economic Planning had an advisory and co-ordinating role. The recommendations of the Standing Working Party were then transmitted to the Economic Committee of the government, composed of the ministers of the Cabinet, the permanent secretaries for finance and economic planning, and a representative of the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation. This committee in turn made its recommendations to the Executive Council, the final arbiter. If at this stage there was still disagreement between an executive ministry, such as the Ministry of Education, and the Ministries of Finance and of Economic Planning, each submitted its views separately. Initially, the basic criterion for the evaluation of a project was the general availability of financial resources, followed by criteria of feasibility. This approach was adopted, partly, because of lack of personnel qualified to appraise projects. But, as already noted earlier, such an approach makes it difficult to allocate financial resources to a project whose costs have not been determined, and constitutes a serious obstacle to successful planning.

The Western Region machinery was similar to that of the East for the approval of plans. But in the North, the machinery centred on the Regional Planning Committee, the members of which were the ministers of economic planning and of finance, their permanent secretaries, and the premier's secretary. The meetings of this committee were also attended by the official—usually the permanent secretary—of the executive ministry whose projects were under discussion.

The important element in the Northern Nigeria Ministry of Economic Planning was the Economic Planning Unit, whose responsibility was to indicate to the committee the policy implications of the proposed projects. In addition, it had to approve any changes in the nature or cost of the projects approved for inclusion in the plan. There was an intention to expand this unit by creating a project evaluation team, probably staffed by an engineer, an economist, and a financial

expert, which would work primarily on the evaluation of projects for the next plan, but also on some carry-over projects, studying their relation to the priorities of the plan and their recurrent cost implications. This team was expected to co-operate closely with the Ministry of Finance, making recommendations to the latter on both capital and recurrent expenditures. It would seem then that the executive ministries, such as the Ministry of Education, could not have as much freedom in submitting proposals for any future plan as they probably had in the case of the current plan. With such development of central planning machinery, the Ministries of Finance and of Economic Planning seemed to be disposed to assume a much more active role in the planning process.

The Mid-West Region, possibly benefiting from the experience of the other regions, paid special attention to the educational projects in its development plan with a view to minimizing the huge burden of recurrent expenditure carried by the Eastern and Western Regions. The educational projects were first formulated by the Ministry of Education, in consultation with the Ministry of Local Government, and then commented upon by the Ministry of Economic Development in the light of plan priorities and of the availability of resources. However, the key body in the formulation of the plan, the Economic Planning Committee, felt that too much was being proposed for education and, accordingly, an *ad hoc* working party on Government Expenditure on Education was established to consider ways of pruning the proposals and establishing an order of priorities. The working party comprised the secretary and under-secretary of the premier's office and the permanent secretaries of the Ministries of Education, Finance, Local Government and Economic Development. Its role was to ensure that educational proposals were in line with the priorities of the development plan. The final approval was given by the government with the concurrence of the Economic Planning Committee, most of whose members also had first-hand experience of education owing to the fact that the teaching profession has traditionally been the avenue of African advancement to higher administrative posts.

The co-ordination of regional and federal planning for the 1962-68 National Development Plan took place mainly within the Joint Planning Committee in Lagos. The regions also had to inform the federal Economic Planning Unit of their projected programmes so that the necessary requirements for foreign exchange, and finance in general, could be calculated in advance. Conversely, the unit advised the regions of likely changes in the distributable part of the federal revenue which could affect the ability to finance the regional programmes.

The actual and projected developments in the Northern and Mid-West Regions suggest that efforts were being made to improve the machinery for the approval of educational proposals. Much would depend, however, on the qualifications of the personnel involved, and their capacity to evaluate projects submitted to them

in the context of the requirements of the plan. In this connexion Clark comments unfavourably with reference to the work at the federal level on the National Development Plan.¹

Implementation of plans

In considering the implementation of educational programmes and projects in Nigeria, we are concerned primarily with the personnel and procedures involved. The discussion of personnel requires that we take account of the complex structure of control over education in Nigeria. In our brief discussion earlier of the current progress of education in Nigeria, we showed the division of proprietorship of schools in each region between government, local authorities and voluntary agencies. From this it follows that the contacts between government, the various proprietors, the network of local educational administration and the school inspectors are numerous, and hence it is a complicated matter to elaborate the precise nature of procedures in the implementation stage in Nigerian educational planning.

The Eastern Region

The process of implementation differed between primary and secondary levels, and between the three main proprietors, i.e., the voluntary agencies, the local authorities, and the government. We consider first primary education.

In the larger voluntary agencies, there was an elaborate hierarchy of officials concerned with education. For example, for the Catholic missions there was an education secretary who acted as liaison between the government and the bishops, who were the nominal proprietors. Each bishop had a supervisor of schools for every 200 schools in his diocese, and each school had a manager, usually the parish priest, who managed one or several schools in the parish. In addition, there was a regional Catholic education committee, composed of one priest and one layman from each diocese, the priest being usually the supervisor of schools. This hierarchy may be shown by Figure 3.

Key men were the education secretary and the supervisors of schools, both paid by the government. They advised the bishops and gave instructions to school managers, thus acting as a two-way channel of communication. In addition, the education secretary, who acted as liaison between the bishops and the government, dealt directly with the principal or senior inspector in the Ministry of Education on educational matters, and with the chief accountant's office on financial

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-4.

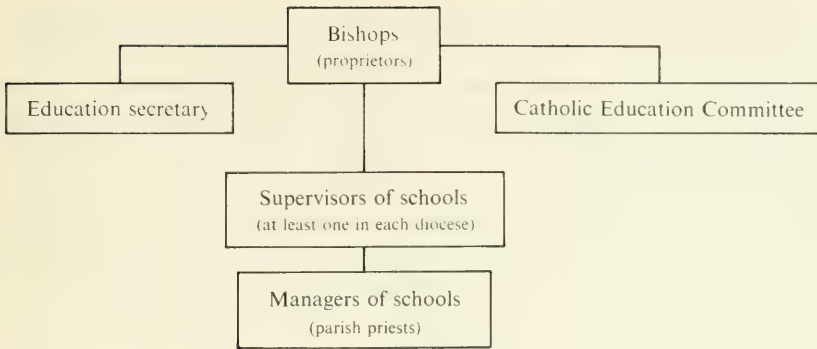


Figure 3. *Eastern Region: organization of a voluntary agency (Catholic schools)*

matters. Conversely, ministerial directives concerning the running of mission schools were transmitted through him.

In the local authority school system each urban or county council acted as proprietor within its area, with its clerk as manager of the schools. The councils functioned through their education committees, and the key men who acted as liaison between the committees and the schools under their authority and who transmitted the decisions of the Ministry of Education were the education assistants. However, the peculiar feature of this structure was that the education assistants were responsible not to the Ministry of Education, but to the Ministry of Local Government. Their task was to supervise the implementation of directives by the schools, while members of the inspectorate, who were employees of the Ministry of Education, had the task of checking that such implementation was in fact being carried out. Such division of responsibilities was pregnant with difficulties and, indeed, the Ministry of Local Government emphasized the need for education assistants to co-operate with the inspectorate instead of trying to assume its duties. However, it would seem difficult to assume responsibility for the functioning of the schools without appearing to be carrying out the tasks of the inspectorate.

In 1965 new primary schools could be created only by local authorities, the voluntary agencies having been restricted to the establishment of secondary schools. However, local enthusiasm for education was not matched by the ability to collect local taxes, and educational expansion thus often had the result of impairing the functioning of other local services.¹ But if this constituted an argument in favour of the Ministry of Local Government being directly concerned with the expansion of primary education (its authorization was required for the

1. S.W.C. Holland, 'Recent Developments in Local Government in Eastern Nigeria', *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, London, January 1963, p. 13 and ff.

opening of new schools), it is not clear why it rather than the Ministry of Education should have been concerned with the daily administration of the schools; e.g., the routine ordering of school equipment was done under the authority of the education division of the Ministry of Local Government. Hence the situation in which this ministry appeared to play an independent role in the educational activities of local authorities does not seem very logical. If the education assistants had been under the control of the Ministry of Education, it would have been much easier to harmonize their work with that of the inspectorate. This does not mean that the Ministry of Local Government would have had no say in such matters as the expansion of educational facilities by local authorities.

The arrangements with regard to government schools have been ignored above, since these schools represented a very small segment of the educational system.

At the secondary level, the system was administered directly by the Ministry of Education through its headquarters inspectors (the professional division), i.e., the principal and senior inspectors of secondary education and the inspectors for science, English, and commercial subjects. The senior inspector of technical education had the special responsibility of liaison with the Ministry of Works with regard to the building of government schools. Contact was direct between the inspectors and the proprietors and principals of secondary schools.

The administration of primary education, as it devolved from the ministry to the local level, was carried out mainly by the senior assistant inspectors, who were deputies to the zonal inspectors. They replaced, in 1964, the senior provincial education officers who had been in charge of the local administration of education, which thus became the responsibility of the inspectorate. The main task of the senior assistant inspectors was the administration of the grants-in-aid system within their area, and in this they were aided by two audit offices, staffed by executive officers, which worked in the field and also audited the accounts of school managers. The senior assistant inspectors were responsible to the principal and senior inspectors of primary education based in the ministry.

As can be seen from this description, the various channels for the implementation of educational decisions—which reflected the various interests in the educational system—formed a disjointed structure which was conducive to a loose and limited government control over education; the mechanism was complex and tended, therefore, to be inefficient. Such inefficiency encouraged frequent failures in the implementation of educational decisions.

We now examine in more detail the role of the inspectorate in the implementation process, bearing in mind that this was only one of its tasks.

The inspectorate could be divided into two parts, the headquarters and the field staffs, and, broadly speaking, the latter was responsible for primary education, while the former dealt with secondary education. The main task of the inspectorate consisted in criticism of malpractices and encouragement of initiative in the

schools. In the process, checks could be made on the implementation of educational decisions concerning the expansion and improvement of the educational system. Thus, seen from the viewpoint of proprietors and teachers, there were both positive and negative aspects to the role of the inspectorate. This needs to be emphasized because there is a popular image among teachers, and not only in Nigeria, that the inspector is primarily a restrictive influence on the educational system, less an agency of change than a means of discipline. If this emphasis can be made clear then, aside from formal duties such as the administration of tests for teachers, the inspectors can report on the implementation of both quantitative and qualitative improvements of education, and encourage these where they are lagging, commend the initiatives of energetic teachers, inspire or even reprimand the less efficient. Thus, the inspector has a very significant role to play in the modernization of an educational system. Because of the local knowledge which he acquires through systematic visits to the schools, he is also well qualified to advise the ministerial planners on the relevance of their proposals to local conditions and to make suggestions for appropriate modifications. Table 5 below shows the distribution of the field inspectors between the different provinces, derived from Ministry of Education data.

The actual inspection of primary schools was carried out by the inspecting assistants, who stayed for a period in each district. They were, therefore, the main link between the teachers and the authorities. The grade II (junior) assistant would usually have a grade I teaching certificate and about ten years of teaching experience. After some five years of service, he could expect to be promoted to

TABLE 5. Field inspectors in 1964

Province	Zonal inspectors	Senior assistant inspectors	Assistant inspectors	Inspecting assistants	Ratio of inspecting assistants to primary teachers
Abakaliki ¹	1	1	—	3	1:928
Annang ²		1	—	2	1:1030
Calabar ²		—	1	1	1:751
Degema ³		—	—	1	1:459
Enugu	1	1	1	5	1:751
Port Harcourt ³	1	1	2	3	1:730
Ogoja ¹		1	—	4	1:227
Onitsha	1	1	1	6	1:703
Owerri	1	1	1	7	1:1032
Umahia	1	1	2	5	1:839
Uyo ²	1	1	1	4	1:1158
Yenagoa ³		—	—	1	1:521

1. The zonal inspector in Abakaliki was also responsible for Ogoja province

2. The zonal inspector in Uyo was also responsible for Annang and Calabar provinces

3. The zonal inspector in Port Harcourt was also responsible for Degema and Yenagoa provinces

SOURCE Ministry of Education, Enugu

grade I, which involved more varied work, such as conducting grade II teacher tests. But beyond this, there was no provision for promotion to the rank of assistant inspector.

The coverage of primary schools by inspecting assistants was considerably improved but, as the above figures show, there were still significant local variations. However, the provinces which appear to be well served may be those where communications were difficult and, hence, where more personnel were required to carry out inspections with comparable frequency.

All the higher ranks, from assistant inspector upwards, had to be graduates, often with training outside Nigeria, and also had to have experience in one of the few government schools or training colleges. But some of them had little teaching experience and were quite young.

Thus, the field inspectorate did not offer a unified career pattern: there was a break between inspecting assistants and the higher ranks. As a result, the field of recruitment to the higher ranks was very narrow, and those with most teaching experience were less likely to be eligible. To jump the gap an inspecting assistant would have required both a degree and a period of employment in one of the few government institutions. This serious curb on the career of the inspecting assistants tended to lessen their effectiveness through discouraging the best teachers from recruitment. It also meant that they often had to work under superiors who were less experienced than they were, a situation that was still further exacerbated by the ministry's action in some instances of appointing the less successful government school teachers to positions in the inspectorate in an endeavour to improve the functioning of the schools.

It remains to examine further the duties of the senior ranks of the inspectorate. The assistant inspector was in charge of inspection of primary schools by the inspecting assistants and the senior assistant inspector was concerned with administration rather than inspection. The highest rank in the field inspectorate was the zonal inspector, equivalent to an inspector in the ministry. Apart from general administrative duties as the head of the field inspectorate in an area, the particular task of the zonal inspector was the inspection of secondary education. It should be noted, however, that unlike the situation at the primary level, the expansion of secondary education had not been matched by a corresponding expansion of the inspection machinery, described below.

The principal inspector (secondary) and his staff in the ministry arranged inspections of secondary schools with the zonal inspectors. But this procedure was proving less and less efficient, because of the increase in the number of schools and their increasingly diverse locations, the lack of personnel, and their lack of qualifications for the task. The ministry officials brought together an *ad hoc* team for the inspection of a particular school. However, in doing this, apart from themselves they chose to draw only on the very limited pool of experienced

teachers in the government secondary schools, and not on the far larger number of equally qualified people available from voluntary agency schools. Also the zonal inspectors frequently lacked extensive teaching experience, so were not well qualified to inspect. Hence graduate teachers, especially in the majority of voluntary agency schools, resisted inspection, as bringing to bear the influence of a minority of the profession, and sometimes a relatively unqualified minority at that. Except when secondary schools applied for a grant-in-aid, inspection was not systematic—this is an aspect of the ministry's activities which seemed unplanned, or at least which had been overtaken by the expansion of the system.

Another important duty of the zonal inspector was the presentation of an annual report to the Ministry of Education on the work performed by his staff, but it is not known what notice the ministry took of these reports. The zonal inspector was also responsible for improving the performance of his staff, particularly with a view to making inspections more rigorous.

At headquarters, the inspectorate numbered fifteen officials in May 1965, but their duties embraced much more than inspection. In fact, they were the main body of administrators concerned professionally with education, carrying a heavy load of administrative and policy-making functions. The Dike Report criticized this situation and suggested that the inspectorate should be concerned primarily with inspection and not with administration.¹

The Northern Region

From the point of view of implementation, the most important agency in the Northern Region was the planning division of the Ministry of Education. Its title suggests that its primary function was the preparation of plans, but in fact the division was created after 1962 and has, therefore, been involved mainly in the implementation of the educational proposals of the current development plan. Figure 4 (page 54) shows the structure of the Ministry of Education.

The inspectorate and planning divisions were those concerned with planning, the other divisions having mainly administrative functions. These two divisions co-operated closely with each other, and some of the staff of the planning division came from the inspectorate. The two divisions often produced joint reports for higher officials, so that the views of the inspectorate could be said to permeate the work of the planners, and vice-versa.

The planning division was headed by a planning and development officer. Under him were the statistical and finance officers, and below them three planning officers concerned respectively with primary education and the develop-

1. Dike Report, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

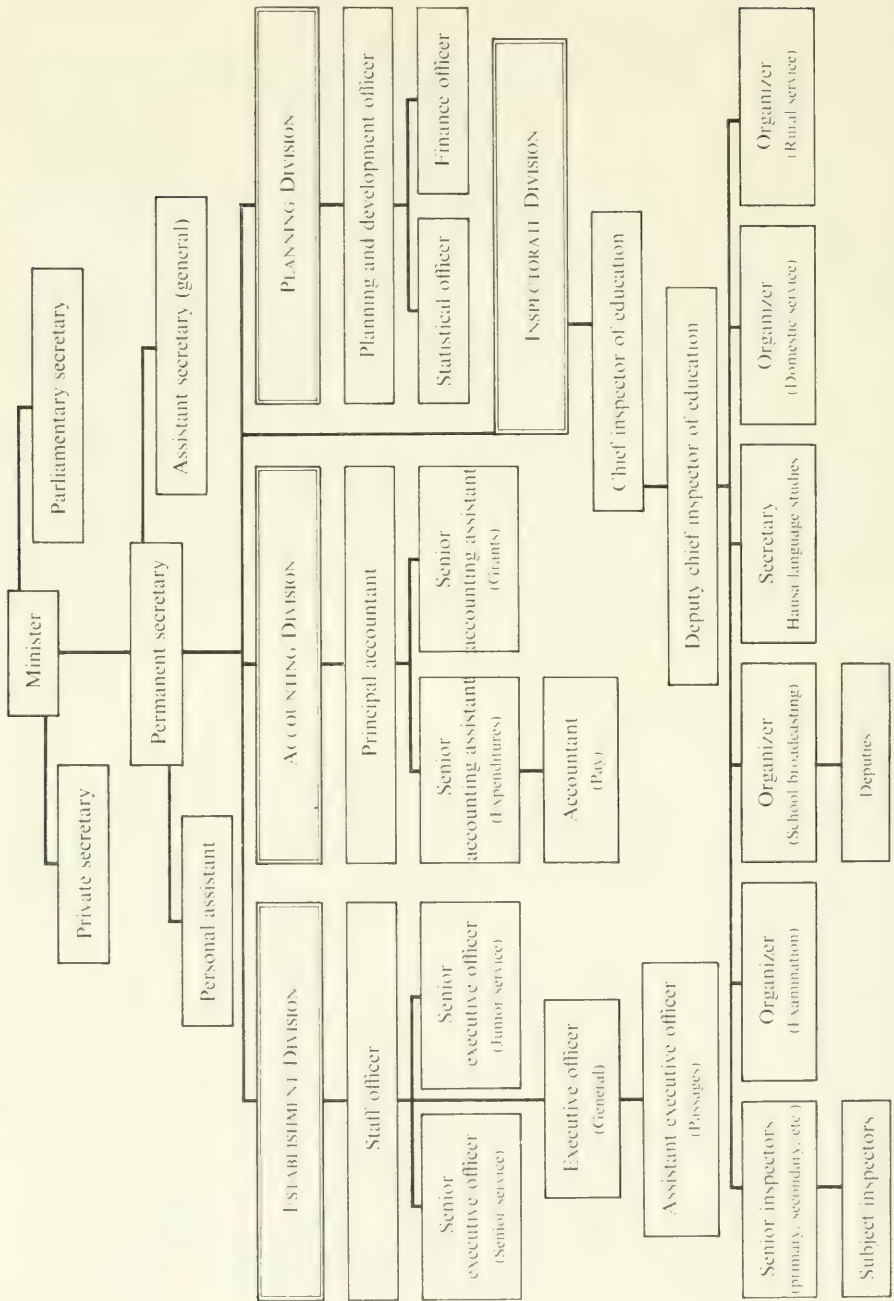


Figure 4. Northern Nigeria: organization of the Ministry of Education

ment of local education authorities, secondary education and teacher training, and technical assistance to education.

The officer concerned with primary education dealt, in particular, with staff and organizational cards and a Unicef scheme for aid to primary education in the region. The staff and organization cards were completed annually by all primary school headmasters and provided data on teachers, buildings, enrolments, attendance and school leavers. It was on the basis of these cards that the local authority education officers drew up local authority educational development plans, whether for a new local education authority or within a native authority development plan (in cases where a native authority had not yet established a local education authority), and the officer in the ministry evaluated the plans and approved them or recommended modifications. Because of their close connexion with local authority plans the cards were the responsibility of the officer dealing with primary education and not of the statistics officer. Previously, the work of this officer was concentrated on the collection of data, but as local authority plans became more widely operative, it was increasingly concerned with the evaluation and approval of these plans. The Unicef project consisted in the allocation of teaching materials, mostly visual aids for teachers, to primary schools throughout the region.

The officer concerned with secondary education and teacher training planned their buildings and equipment, in the case of government facilities, in co-operation with the Ministry of Works. The preparation of capital requirements for new projects, and estimates of recurrent expenditure, were made in co-operation with the division's finance officer. The allocation of new facilities at this level was governed by regional needs and availability of resources rather than local claims. With regard to technical education, the inspectors concerned advised on manpower requirements, the planning division being concerned only with the provision of the necessary facilities. For other types of secondary education, estimates of growth were made by the statistics officer.

The officer responsible for foreign aid arranged the absorption of Peace Corps and other expatriates into the teaching force and also had to plan requirements for such personnel. Also, in consultation with the Ministry of Establishments and Training, he made arrangements for the sending of educational personnel abroad for further training. Up to 1965 the work of this officer was concerned with technical assistance rather than financial aid, and was, therefore, perhaps more administrative in character than that of the other members of the planning division.

The work of the statistics officer was discussed previously and requires little further explanation beyond saying that he was concerned to a greater extent than any other member of the division with the preparation of future plans as distinct from the implementation of current plans.

The finance officer dealt with the costing, both capital and recurrent, of

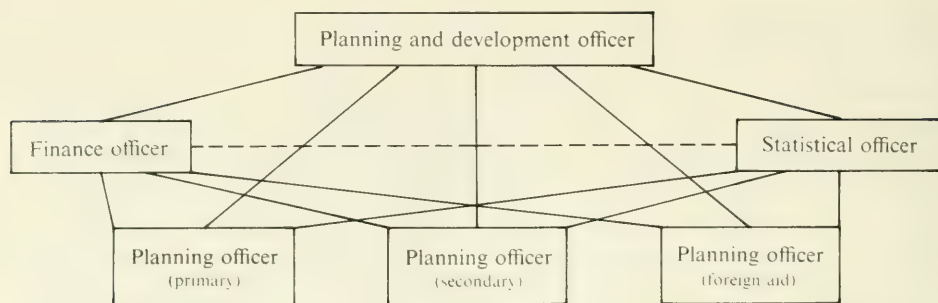


Figure 5. *Structure of the planning division (May 1965)*

educational proposals. For this purpose, he co-operated with the Ministry of Local Government in connexion with the grants made by that ministry to local authorities, and with the Ministry of Finance with regard to the resources likely to be available for educational expenditure.

The structure of the planning division, with indications of how the work of all the officials concerned drew on each other, is shown in Figure 5.

In principle, the planning and development officer was involved in both the preparation of future plans and the implementation of current plans. However, the latter was by far the most important part of the work of the division, and it was probably for this reason that the staff of the inspectorate division was so closely involved in the work of the planning division, though the inspectorate also had an important role in the preparation of future plans, for it was on their progress reports that subsequent planning would be based.

Apart from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Local Government was the most closely involved in the implementation of educational plans. It had over-all responsibility for the finances of local authorities. Accordingly it authorized them to devote 20 per cent of annual recurrent expenditure to education, and 35 per cent of capital expenditure. Given these proportions, education represented the largest single head of expenditure by local authorities. The ministry was concerned to achieve a surplus on recurrent revenue, in order to establish a reserve to finance capital expenditure. However, this endeavour was not entirely successful, apparently because of the inability of many local authorities to collect their revenues, with the result that local authority capital expenditure on education was curtailed below the levels proposed in the local authority plans. This in turn would curtail the implementation of other aspects of these plans.

The Ministry of Education assisted the implementation of both capital and recurrent aspects of local authority plans. It provided a capital grant of £350 per class-room, and there was also the system of grants-in-aid to cover recurrent costs, in which teachers' salaries were the largest item. However, the provision of

the capital grants presupposed that the local authority concerned would also make its contribution, which as mentioned above was frequently the bottle-neck to implementation.

Local authority plans, which concerned only primary education, had to accord with the over-all planning objectives of the Ministry of Education, but required, in addition, the approval of the Ministry of Local Government, since the latter was the final authority with regard to local authority expenditures. Such arrangements seemed liable to constitute a potential source of inter-ministerial conflicts, because the two ministries used different criteria in evaluating educational proposals of local authorities; the Ministry of Education viewed such proposals in the context of educational objectives, the Ministry of Local Government in the light of total expenditure by local authorities.

The possibilities for conflict were likely to grow as more native authorities set up local education authorities which produced educational plans independently of the native authority development plans (hitherto, the latter contained a section relating to education). This was because, under the new system, the educational plans would be submitted directly to the Ministry of Education instead of being forwarded through the Ministry of Local Government, but the latter would still keep the control of the native authorities' financial outlays on education. Hitherto, inter-ministerial conflicts had been avoided by means of frequent informal contacts, but it remained to be seen whether this would continue to be the case in view of the apparent shift in ministerial authority over education at the local level.

An example of how this issue might suddenly come to a head was provided by the impact of the salary increases awarded to local officials by the Morgan Commission.¹ These disrupted the plans of the local authorities by absorbing much of their revenue, and thus called in question the validity of long-term projections of financial outlays on educational projects. When short-term needs of daily administration come into conflict with long-term needs of planning, the former are likely to prevail, and then the Ministry of Education's requirements for the support of a local educational plan over a period of years would be overridden by the Ministry of Local Government's more immediate requirement for the smooth functioning of local administration.

Although primary education was an important joint concern with the Ministry of Local Government, secondary education and teacher training were the direct and exclusive responsibility of the Ministry of Education. As over half of the secondary grammar schools and teacher-training institutions were run by voluntary agencies, the relations between the latter and the ministry were an important

1. Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Information, *Report of the Commission on the Review of Wages, Salary and Conditions of Service of the Junior Employees of the Governments of the Federation and in Private Establishments, 1963-64*, Lagos, 1964.

factor in the implementation of government policies at the secondary level. The voluntary agencies have not been dealt with in connexion with primary education, since, under the 1964 Education Law, they were in effect being gradually excluded from operating primary schools, though retaining specific rights with regard to their religious interests.

The key figures in the relations between the government and the voluntary agencies at the secondary level were the two education secretaries, one of whom acted for the Catholic agencies, and the other for the Protestant agencies' Northern Education Advisory Council, composed of various denominational members, each of which had a secretary of its own. The secretaries were paid by the government and acted in a liaison and advisory capacity between the government and the proprietors, usually the local bishops. Their work exemplified the significance of good personal relations in the functioning of educational planning in the North; the close contacts established between the two sides were in contrast with the experience of the East.

A voluntary agency wishing to open a new secondary school had to get the permission of the Ministry of Education, and the education law stipulated the conditions to be fulfilled before permission would be granted. The agency then went ahead with building, and in this context it is interesting that a survey undertaken by the Ministry of Works showed that school-building costs of the agencies were much lower than those of the government. One possible reason for this would be the willingness of commercial entrepreneurs of a given denomination to work more cheaply under the auspices of that denomination, and another the community spirit which often pervaded the building of denominational schools and led to the provision of free or cheap labour.

The design requests of the Ministry of Education for new government schools or extensions to the existing ones went in the first instance to the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Works, who forwarded them to the chief architect. Low-cost standard designs were available, but projects based on foreign aid often contained stipulations which prevented their use. The costing was carried out by the quantity surveyor's section at the Ministry of Works, and the completed designs were then sent back to the Ministry of Education for approval.

Apart from the Ministries of Education, of Local Government, and of Works, a number of other ministries were involved, though to a much lesser extent, in the implementation of educational plans, usually with regard to the training of manpower in the field of their operations, e.g., nurses by the Ministry of Health, agricultural assistants by the Ministry of Agriculture. But there was no established machinery for co-operation with the Ministry of Education in such instances, personal contacts with inspectors of technical and rural education usually ensuring the necessary linkages, and perhaps Ministry of Education representation on boards of governors. In many cases, the scale of requirements was so much

larger than the financial and physical facilities available that any attempt to relate the training effort to manpower requirements was meaningless, and the principal aim was to make the best possible use of such facilities as were available and of the new ones coming into operation.

As in the other regions, the arrangements for inspection of education were different for the primary and secondary levels. At the primary level, there was devolution on a provincial basis, each provincial inspector having under him a number of assistant inspectors in relation to the school population and the territorial distribution of the schools. At the secondary level, inspection was carried out by the inspectors from the Ministry in Kaduna. Table 6 below shows the distribution of the inspecting personnel for primary education by provinces, derived from the then available figures.

The development plan provided for a provincial inspector and a provincial education secretary for each province, and Table 6 shows how nearly the target was achieved in the case of the inspectors. But in the case of assistant inspectors the picture was very different and, indeed, much worse than the figures in the table might suggest. In the first place, the target figures in the table related to the school population as it was in 1964, whereas primary education was to be considerably expanded. Secondly, this expansion would be most concentrated in the provinces with the lowest current enrolments, i.e., provinces such as Bornu, Katsina, Sardauna and Sokoto, which had almost reached the target for assistant inspectors. Hence the target figures must be considered as totally inadequate to

TABLE 6. Northern Nigeria: inspectors for primary education

Province	Provincial inspectors		Assistant inspectors		Target for assistant inspectors (allowing 1 for every 5,000 of the school population in 1964)
	October 1964	April 1965	October 1964	April 1965	
Adamawa	1	1	2	3	4
Bauchi	—	1	2	1	6
Benue	—	1	3	3	16
Bornu	—	1	6	5	4
Ilorin	1	—	3	3	9
Kabba	1	1	3	3	11
Kano	1	1	4	4	8
Katsina	—	—	3	3	3
Niger	1	—	4	3	4
Plateau	1	1	3	3	8
Sardauna	1	1	2	2	2
Sokoto	—	1	4	3	4
Zaria	1	1	3	3	8
Kaduna	1	1	1	1	2

SOURCE Ministry of Education, Kaduna

future needs. Nor is the figure of 5,000 school population per assistant inspector a low one in view of the small average size of the schools, their remoteness, and the paucity of transport facilities.

The assistant inspectors were in most cases grade I^{IV} or grade II teachers who had had sufficient teaching experience to become headmasters. In principle each covered one of the constituent native authority areas in a province, but owing to differences in the size of school populations and the areas to be covered this was not rigidly adhered to. The provincial inspectors were not normally graduates, but were expected to be better qualified than grade I teachers.

The inspectorate at the ministry comprised, apart from the chief inspector and his deputy, senior inspectors and subject inspectors. The former were distributed between primary, secondary and technical education, teacher training, and women's education. The special post for women's education, which cut across the other types of education, was felt to be necessary in view of the position of girls in a developing Moslem society. The number of subject inspectors for secondary education, who were responsible for inspection of the region's secondary schools, was liable to fluctuate because of the custom of employing them temporarily in other positions in the ministry whenever the necessity arose. In May 1965 there were subject inspectors for English, mathematics, chemistry, technical subjects, arts and crafts, domestic science, rural science and Arabic studies. The qualifications required were a degree, a teaching certificate, and extensive teaching experience; most if not all of the posts were occupied by expatriates, and this situation seemed unlikely to change in the near future.

A particularly important aspect of inspection at the secondary level was the attention paid to the English language, since ability in English largely governs performance in other subjects. As secondary education facilities expand, it could be necessary to devolve inspection duties in this subject to territorial entities in order to ensure a proper coverage. A similar problem could arise with regard to other subjects. The then current arrangements with the centralization of inspection at Kaduna were viable, but with the expansion of secondary education, the number of subject inspectors would have to be at least doubled, since a territorial devolution would require at least two teams instead of one to cover the region.

The Northern Region published a handbook for the guidance of inspectors, stressing their twofold role, to act as a channel for the spread of educational improvements and to check on the implementation of policies. With regard to these functions, it should be noted that although the inspectors were employees of the regional government, while the key figures in local administration, the local education officers, were employees of their local authorities, this did not mean that the government had no control over local education officers. A native authority desiring to attain the status of a local education authority was required by the education law to send its candidate for the post of education officer for

training to the educational administration course at Zaria run by the ministry. The ministry was thus able to ensure that education officers learnt what the ministry expected them to do, that they acquired the right approach and became, as it were, the ministry's agent within the local education authority.¹

To sum up, it would seem that the North had a more integrated machinery for implementation than the East, mainly because of the relatively stronger position of the Northern Ministry of Education. Potentially weak aspects of this implementation machinery were the inspection of primary education and the possibility of frictions between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government.

The Western Region

Planned educational expansion in this region dates from the commitment to universal free primary education in 1952, and accordingly there is longer experience of the implementation of educational planning. Before the introduction of universal free primary education in 1955, school inspections were a rare occurrence, but the need for them became urgent with the great expansion of facilities and the consequent rise in the number of inadequately trained teachers. However, the proprietors, who were operating inspection services themselves, objected to government control of inspection, and in addition the Ministry of Establishments would not agree to the necessary expansion of Ministry of Education staff. As an alternative, the Ministry of Education advanced funds to voluntary agencies to enable them to recruit school supervisors who would act as inspectors, but the results were not encouraging and the scheme had to be curtailed. This inadequacy of the inspection system was one of the factors contributing to the widespread fall in standards after the introduction of universal free primary education.

Thus a failure in implementation was largely due to administrative failures which, in turn, had their origins in the multiplicity of interests endeavouring to control the educational system. However, in other respects the regional government did achieve a degree of competence in educational planning which was not attained until much later elsewhere in the country. The maintenance of the universal primary education scheme, at whatever cost, was a considerable planning achievement, greatly helped by the care taken to achieve co-operation with the voluntary agencies whenever feasible.² Subsequently the Western Region experienced serious political and economic difficulties; the splitting off of the Mid-West Region in August 1963 had the unfortunate effect of increasing the Western

1. In this connexion, see J.F. Thornley, *The Planning of Primary Education in Northern Nigeria*, published in this series by IIEP.

2. See David B. Abernethy, 'Nigeria', in David G. Scanlon (ed.), *Church, State and Education in Africa*, New York, 1966, pp. 220-24.

Region's dependence on cocoa revenues for its income at a time of falling world prices for this product. Thus the government was faced with a crippling burden of subsidies to the cocoa farmers. After the separation of the Mid-West, political unrest continued as competing parties struggled for control of the government, backed by various factions outside the region. In these conditions, the evaluation of the implementation process during the development plan period according to normal administrative criteria becomes somewhat academic, particularly when the legal requirement to maintain free primary education is seen against the background of the population explosion.

During the first year of the regional development plan (1962-63), actual capital expenditure exceeded the planned figure by about 50 per cent.¹ Instead of the £250,000 originally scheduled, almost £2 million were spent on teacher-training colleges, all of it on advanced teacher-training colleges, no new action apparently having been taken towards overcoming the inadequacy of primary school teachers. Similarly, the allocation for secondary grammar schools was exceeded, but most of it went for a single comprehensive school established with US-AID assistance. Conversely, no money was spent on handicraft and trade centres. Consequently, capital expenditure in the next year had to be reduced to £934,000 compared with the £2.54 million scheduled.² Political factors were commonly claimed to play an important role in the implementation of educational projects, politicians striving to be associated with popular projects rather than those justified on educational grounds.

For the local administration of education the region was divided into four zones, each containing approximately 1,000 primary schools of all types which came under the control of a principal inspector of education, who was both the head of the inspectorate and in charge of administration of primary education in his zone. Below this level, each local authority had a local education adviser, usually an experienced teacher who acted as school supervisor (the chief education officer envisaged by the regional education law), and was apparently responsible to the zonal principal inspector, who in turn acted as a channel between the Ministry of Education and the local authorities, and thus occupied a key role with regard to both inspection and the implementation of educational decisions. The Ministry of Local Government also played a significant role in the implementation process, since it provided annual grants to local education authorities for recurrent expenditure (£10 per teacher and 5 s. per child), though apparently the Ministry of Education retained the sole control of the policies of local education authorities.

However, this did not add up to a well-organized administrative machine, for

1. *Western Nigeria Development Plan 1962-68* . . . , op. cit., p. 34, table II.

2. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Development Plan* . . . , op. cit., p. 172, table I.

many of the local education authorities were too small to function effectively,¹ and apparently no special training was given to their advisers. The zonal principal inspectors were too few to overcome such handicaps.

The inspectorate consisted of five grades—principal inspector, senior inspector, senior inspecting assistant, and inspecting assistants grades I and II. Principal and senior inspectors had to be graduates, the former with eight years' teaching experience, the latter with four years. Senior inspecting assistants were mostly grade I teachers with about twenty years' experience of primary teaching, assistants I were grade I teachers with five years' teaching experience, and assistants II could be newly qualified grade I teachers. The inspectorate operated from the four zonal centres—Oyo, Ibadan, Akure and Ijebu Ode—each of which had its zonal principal inspector, a senior inspector and a senior inspecting assistant. The distribution of assistants I and II within each zone endeavoured to reflect the urban concentration of the primary school population, an effort having been made to establish the zones so that each should contain about 1,000 primary schools. The graduate inspectors also had charge of the secondary schools in their area.

The region's annual financial estimates provided in recent years for five principal inspectors, thirteen senior inspectors, eight senior inspecting assistants, fourteen inspecting assistants I and ninety-two inspecting assistants II, but it was not possible to establish the extent to which this establishment was filled. It was not therefore possible to evaluate the functioning of the inspectorate.

The Mid-West Region

The recent emergence of the Mid-West as an autonomous region and the even more recent advent of its development plan (published in 1965) make any discussion of implementation procedures an academic exercise. However, it may be useful to review existing machinery as an indication of the prospects for possible future activity in this context. The local educational administration was similar to that of the Western Region. However, suggestions were made for the setting-up of new local education authorities, more independent of other local government affairs than hitherto, and with greater participation of voluntary agencies.

As shown in Table 7, the inspectorate was almost up to establishment, but the figures were deceptive because many of the inspectors could not perform their duties owing to the lack of transport facilities and their periodic allocation to other tasks, e.g., the collection of census data. In any case, the ministry had so far made little use of inspectors as a feed-back mechanism from below.

The senior inspectors had to be graduates with teaching experience, the senior

1. Abernethy, *op. cit.*, p. 224, in this context.

TABLE 7. The field inspectorate in the Mid-West Region, 1965

	Present establishment	Present staffing	Proposed establishment
Senior inspectors of education	2	1	8
Senior inspectors (secondary)	—	—	3
Senior inspecting assistants	4	3	4
Inspecting assistants (grade I)	10	9	16
Inspecting assistants (grade II)	34	34	36

SOURCE Ministry of Education, Benin

inspecting assistants grade I teachers with extensive teaching experience, and the inspecting assistants at least grade II primary teachers. The proposed additions to the establishment would have enabled a senior inspector to be stationed in each district to act as the ministry's spokesman and source of information with regard to primary education, while three other senior inspectors would deal with secondary education.

Reviewing procedure

This stage of the planning process hitherto hardly received any serious consideration in Nigeria. Since there were no comprehensive national educational plans, but rather educational components of federal and regional development plans, and these still far from realization, any specific machinery for their review seemed premature, particularly in view of the scarcity of manpower available for such an extra task. There are, however, two topics relevant to the reviewing procedure which will be discussed briefly—the progress reports on the national development plan and the potential role of the inspectorate in the review of educational plans.

The progress reports, which were the responsibility of the federal and regional economic planners, gave an account of the progress achieved in the realization of projects during each financial year, and the federal report also stated the amount of resources available for the implementation of the projects. But the regional reports, whenever they indicated a failure to achieve targets, did not generally make proposals for re-phasing the implementation of projects, and this was a significant omission.

The inspectorate in each of the regions had, among other duties, that of reporting on local observance of ministerial instructions and, as such, it could have been trained to perform the task of a local review agency for implementation, though this might require expansion of its personnel.

There were thus two actual or potential channels for the reviewing procedure, one central and the other local. What seemed to be lacking was an intermediate

channel able to collate and relate local reports to regional or national targets and to make informed recommendations for further implementation. It may be that certain officials in the ministries of education were already doing this kind of work as part of their duties, but it did not appear that anybody was officially charged with this task. Perhaps the advisory boards attached to the ministry of education would have been an appropriate body to perform such a task, or perhaps a new body could have been created for this purpose.

Conclusion

This study has examined some of Nigeria's recent experience of educational planning. A number of points arise out of this examination, and the principles implicit in these are relevant to the improvement of educational planning not only in Nigeria, but in many other countries as well.

At the beginning of Chapter 3 we established a simple theoretical framework for the discussion of educational planning experience in the regions of Nigeria. This enabled us to isolate the different major activities in the educational planning process, with specific reference to the 1962-68 National Development Plan, and to examine each region's progress in each of these activities. With the period of the plan only half-elapsed at the time of examination this was obviously a tentative exercise. The choice of this period possibly favours the North, and certainly our observations tended to suggest that in 1965 this was the region of Nigeria with the most active commitment to the use of planning techniques and procedures as an aid to its further educational development. However, it must also be recognized that the particular educational problems of the North at that time were perhaps more suited to the use of planning procedures than the contemporaneous problems of other regions—i.e., from the viewpoint of planning, it is probably easier to concentrate on expanding an educational system than on upgrading it, though of course this is not to imply that any part of Nigeria was preoccupied with either of these endeavours to the exclusion of the other.

In any case Nigeria is a difficult country for which to make such an evaluation of the educational planning process. A federation of not many years' standing which was undertaking a pioneering planning exercise, and in which some of the potentially most significant elements of the planning machinery had scarcely become operational when the plan was published (see Chapter 2), provides a very complex case. In addition, during the years under consideration one part of the country was undergoing serious economic and political difficulties which interfered with its ability to carry out planned policies. Thus our conclusions must be tentative, and subject to the influence of the above observations.

However, taking into account also the point made in the introduction about the influence on any such comparison of the different levels of educational progress in the regions, the following conclusions can be drawn from the study.

1. A federal structure of government makes planning a much more complex operation. The nature of this complexity is of course dependent on the precise federal structure in the country under study. In Nigeria's case the predominantly regional responsibility for education existed in conjunction with a considerable federal control over sources of government revenue. Thus the division between spending and revenue-earning ministries, in which education falls squarely among the former, was made more complicated by the division of levels of government. Behind this lies the more general point that any planning process is more complicated when it has to pass through a more complex planning machinery.
2. A major determinant of the content of any educational plan is the previous educational history of the area to be planned. Thus in Northern Nigeria the previous comparative absence of educational development limited the possible pace of further development because of, for instance, the absence of teachers for an enlarged educational system. Similarly in the southern regions the previous rapid development of primary education had created such a burden of recurrent expenditure that the further development of other educational levels was limited by shortage of finance.
3. The scarcity of personnel with training as planners impaired the preparation of plans, e.g., in Western Nigeria earlier during the preparation for universal primary education, and elsewhere later in adequately preparing and costing projects.
4. One of Nigeria's greatest difficulties lay in the comparative lack of statistical data, the machinery to collate them, and the personnel to interpret them.¹ As was noted in the course of Chapter 3, it appeared to be the Northern Region which had taken the most active steps towards the overcoming of this difficulty.
5. At the stage of implementation of planning there was a lack of recognition of the possibility of using the inspectorate in a more positive way as an agency for plan implementation, or at least, if this possibility had been recognized it was not being followed up actively.

These conclusions lead us to reiterate the criteria for the evaluation of progress in planning which we set out in the introduction, but this time as principles to be observed in attempting to improve planning performance.

1. Regular collection and processing of relevant data for planning.
2. Training and permanency of planning personnel.

1. Thus it is noteworthy that W. F. Stolper, the original head of the federal Economic Planning Unit, entitled a book substantially based on his Nigerian experience *Planning without Facts*.

3. Phasing and costing of educational proposals within the context of other government expenditures so that the agencies concerned, such as the economic planning unit and ministry of finance, can see them as such and provide for their implementation.
4. Development of procedures and personnel for the implementation of plans and review of their progress.

Other IIEP publications

The following publications are obtainable from Unesco and its national distributors throughout the world:

Educational Planning: a Directory of Training and Research Institutions

1964. Also available in French

Educational Planning: a Bibliography

1964. Also available in French

Educational Planning: an Inventory of Major Research Needs

1965. Also available in French

Problems and Strategies of Educational Planning: Lessons from Latin America

1965. Also available in Spanish

New Educational Media in Action: Case Studies for Planners

1967. Three volumes

The New Media: Memo to Educational Planners

W. Schramm, P. H. Coombs, F. Kahnert, J. Lyle

1967. (A report including analytical conclusions based on the above three volumes.) Also available in Spanish: to be published in French in 1968.

Fundamentals of Educational Planning

Series of booklets. Also to be published in French. Full current list of titles available on request

Librairie de l'Unesco
Place de Fontenoy
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The International Institute for Educational Planning

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) was established by Unesco to serve as an international centre for advanced training and research in the field of educational planning. Its initial basic financing was provided by Unesco, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Ford Foundation and its physical facilities by the Government of France. It has since received supplemental support from private and governmental sources.

The Institute's aim is to expand knowledge and the supply of competent experts in educational planning in order to assist all nations to accelerate their educational development as a prime requirement for general economic and social development. In this endeavour the Institute co-operates with interested training and research organizations throughout the world.

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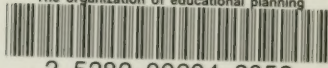
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